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ANCIENT GREECE

Classical states of mind

Jasper Griffin

LOUIS GERNET
The Anthropology of Ancient Greece
Translated by John Hamilton, SJ,
and Blaise Nagy
378pp. Johns Hopkins University
Press, £19.25,
0 8018 2112 6

GHERARDO GNOLI and JEAN-PIERRE VERNANT (Editors)
La mort, les morts dans les sociétés anciennes
505pp. Cambridge University Press,
£25,
0 521 22322 9

The greatest contributor to British classical studies in this century was Adolf Erbert. Exiled from Germany, many eminent scholars came to England; and they brought with them a conception of erudition and of method which surprised many of the elegant composers of Greek and Latin verses who held positions in English universities. The seminars of Edoard Fraenkel, the postcards of Paul Maas, the formidable presence of Felix Jacoby and Rudolf Pfeiffer, drove home the news that from 1830 until 1930 most of the serious work in classical studies had been done in Germany. The insularity of which Hausman loved to complain was over; no longer could you be a classical scholar and not know German. Wilamowitz and Mommsen became familiar names, and the German influence gave such an impetus to the native tradition of exact knowledge of Greek and Latin, that the past forty years have been a great age of classical study in Britain.

France did not share this side of Hitler's legacy. French ancient historians went on blandly quoting Caspary, eccentric but French, as the standard authority; French texts of the classic authors bristled with the confusions of Desrousseaux, which were a local vice and did not travel. Eminent individuals stood out, but a lot of work seemed to be going on in another world from that being done in Britain and Germany. Few British classical scholars had much interest in the work of their colleagues in France.

This situation is changing. In the past ten years English-speaking scholars have become aware of the importance of a French tradition of ancient history very different from that of Carcopino,

influenced by the work of such men as Durkheim, Dumézil and Lévi-Strauss. The writings of J.-P. Vernant, P. Vidal-Naquet and M. Detienne are widely read, and English translations are beginning to appear. Their impact is most clearly seen in the study of archaic Greece; it is no coincidence that this is the area in which our indigenous methods have been most obviously running out of steam. The direct sources for events in archaic history are so fragmentary that trying to reconstruct the past from them is like trying to solve a jigsaw puzzle when ninety-eight per cent of the pieces are missing, and some of the survivors have lost their corners.

Louis Gernet is one of the most important figures in that French tradition. Born in 1882, he was a pupil of Durkheim and a friend of Granet and Mauss. In 1917 he published his thesis, *Recherches sur le développement de la pensée juridique et morale en Grèce*, and was given a position at the University of Algiers. After the war the star of the Durkheimians waned, and Gernet's career was conspicuously unsuccessful: he stayed in Algiers till 1948, when he was sixty-six. After publishing his thesis he edited a number of Greek texts, mostly of the orators, and produced a large number of articles on topics connected with ancient law, religion and social history. In 1948 he returned to Paris and gave sparsely attended seminars at the École Pratique des Hautes Études. In old-fashioned non-conformist beard and hat he seems to have been thought by most people to be a Rip Van Winkle (see the valuable essay on him by S.C. Humphreys in her *Anthropology and the Greeks*, 1978).

Since his death Gernet's reputation has grown greatly. A collection of his lectures on Greek law was published in 1955 as *Droit et société dans la Grèce ancienne*, and in 1968 another selection, edited by Vernant and Detienne, appeared under the title *Anthropologie de la Grèce antique*. That has now been translated into English by John Hamilton and Blaise Nagy, with the slight omission of the bibliography of Gernet's publications, extensive but incomplete, which was contained in the original. Vernant was one of the devoted group who attended the seminars in Paris, and his generous recognition of Gernet's influence has done much to gain him his posthumous success.

Trained in sociology but also an excellent linguist, Gernet was interested in the interaction and development of words and institutions. The components which went to the creation of the classical polis are to be analysed and seen as a system. Mythology, Gernet insists, is a language, and it can be deciphered; but he is anxious not to impose one single method, preferring rather to proceed by a series of associations and similarities. That approach gives his work a humane feeling which is sometimes absent in ruthless systematizers, well as allowing him to do more justice to the rich variety which a society presents.

A good example of his procedure is the eighty-page paper entitled 'Droit et société en Grèce antique'. He sets out to consider the transition from a society in which law is essentially religious and magical in character, to one in which legal procedure of a recognizably "secular" kind is established. "What we are interested in is the state of mind [mentalité]." A far-ranging discussion deals with the quasi-magical force of gestures - passing on of a sceptre from hand to hand, entrusting of a bride into the hand of a husband, pouring libations, setting foot on the soil of one's inheritance - and traces them from the myths by way of Herodotus' stories about sixth-century history to the stage when they become "symbolic", no longer powerful in themselves but routine parts of a procedure whose binding force lies elsewhere, in the involvement of society and in abstract patterns of thought. Originally an oath had its own efficacy and would avenge its own breach; then the gods were credited with enforcing it; finally it became a formality, and Plato in the *Laws* recommends the abolition of the oath taken by both sides in civil cases, on the ground that it is bad for society to know that half its members have perjured themselves with impunity. But behind the ritual of the developed law - and not only in Greece - lies the original magical force of gestures and formulae.

Another fascinating paper deals with the idea of value and of the precious. Mythical stories abound of precious objects whose origin is supernatural: the Golden Fleece (a talisman of kingship), the necklace of Harmonia, possession of which could be deadly, the sceptres and treasures made by gods and given to kings in Homer,

golden cups which emerge from the sea, and so on. Possession of such treasures went with the magical power of the king to control wealth and ensure fertility; the objects had their own history, which lengthened as they passed from hand to hand - like celebrated works of art nowadays, one might add, or famous diamonds, which also have a value beyond that of mere money in giving prestige to the owner: which are, as we say, "priceless". What we think of as straightforward economic value was a secondary development, and it is notable that the first Greek coins bore the stamp of the old heraldic and religious symbols, as if to guarantee their worth.

Gernet is suggestive in pointing to links between archaic and classical attitudes and practices. In archaic Greece there was an important ethic of gift-giving; it was the duty, almost the function, of the king to give gifts, and competitiveness in generosity was an aristocratic obligation. The curious form of taxation known at Athens as "liturgy", by which a wealthy man was required to equip a warship or pay for the performance of a set of plays, is to be seen against that background; as is the constant boast of the men concerned that they fulfilled the obligation "with magnificence", with greater expense than was required. In democratic Athens a political deadlock could be resolved by a national referendum which sent one or other party leader into exile (ostracism); behind that lies the archaic ritual of driving out a man as scapegoat, carrying with him the pollution of the community. The distinctive appearance and behaviour of philosophers in the Hellenistic period is related to the bizarre conduct of early shamans and philosopher-wizards like Empedocles. The papers collected in this book offer many insights.

Characteristic of Gernet's work is the simultaneous awareness of historical and mythical material, each used to illuminate the other. The myths are the only place where many of the attitudes and procedures of early society were preserved; and they cannot be disregarded in favour of a purely "rational" attempt to reconstruct particular events separately, from the scattered fragments of specifically historical evidence. Without the social background such an attempt is sterile. As society evolved from the heroic to the aristocratic and then to the democracy of the fifth

century, along with the changes there was a great continuity of ideas and assumptions. Gernet's appreciation of that, and the patience and delicacy with which he works it out, mean that he can have a salutary influence on our understanding of a vital yet immensely difficult period.

"Something must, however, be said about the English translation. In the original French, Gernet's writing needs careful attention; connections of thought are sometimes left implicit, and the abstract nature of much of the argument does not make for reading with the feet on the fender. An English translation should therefore be welcome, and it is sad to have to report that this one, so far from making life easier, is considerably harder to read than the original. That is a serious charge, which must be justified.

We find an ominous warning as early as the second page of the preface. J.-P. Vernant writes there of Gernet that he was completely at home in ancient Greece. "à la façon d'un ethnologue qui, parti des l'âge d'homme explore une terre lointaine, ne l'aurait plus jamais quittée et en comprendrait tout le peuple": "like an ethnologist who went off to a distant country as soon as he grew up, and never left it." In this book, that appears as "like an ethnologist who, beginning with the dawn of civilization, sets out for a distant land, he would never abandon his quest". Two howlers, each of which would earn a black mark in an A-level paper.

It is not only that Hamilton and Nagy commit such elementary blunders, translating "guérisseurs" as "warriors", and "l'idée même" as "the same idea", and "en effet" as "in effect", and "une fête de printemps" as "an early festival", and "invite instamment" as "Immediately invited", and "voici un remarquable inféichissement" as "here is a remarkable case of inflexibility", and "contre toute attente" as "despite all efforts to the contrary". The reader who knows Greek mythology will automatically pore over two heroes, the son of Jason and the grandson of Thesus, to "two heroes, sons of Jason and grandsons of Thesus" (how unkind that *his* is the same in the singular and the plural). The reader who knows French, when Gernet is made to say that a story has "a reasonable and edifying allure", will perhaps detect the French words of which that is the helpless transfiguration, and translate

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International Studies

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them for himself as "a rational and edifying tone".

When all this is set on one side, there remains the ease of sentences whose meaning is seriously obscured or distorted. These take more space than the one-line jokes of the last paragraph, and we can set out only two or three. "Les symbolismes d'une même image ont beau avoir - pour nous - des directions différentes" means the opposite of "the symbolic meanings we have derived from one and the same image have really led us in different directions". Gernet's thought is not simple, and this sort of thing makes it completely opaque. Having dealt with several stories told by Herodotus, Gernet says of the general pattern which they follow: "Nous avons... ces histoires d'Herodote. Leur authenticité nous est indifférente." That is translated "We have the *Histories* of Herodotus. Their authenticity is immaterial" etc. The idea that Herodotus' whole work might not be authentic is a grotesque misconception, which can only lead the reader hopelessly astray. "Si artificiel que soit le raccord entre les deux épisodes - et justement parce qu'il l'est - il est assez visible que le second est l'homologue du premier" means "However artificial the link between the two episodes may be - in fact, precisely because it is artificial, that sense is lost, and so is the reader, when it is translated 'However artificial the connection between the episodes - and precisely because there is one...'"

To go on with this sort of thing appeals to the taste for low comedy but really it is a serious matter. Did nobody at the Johns Hopkins University Press, did none of the six people who are thanked in the preface, and wonder about the extraordinary sentence I have quoted? (They might also have wondered what was meant, on the same page, by the statement that Gernet "wore the cravat of Lavallière" - "La cravate Lavallière" is the sort of floppy bow-tie which all Frenchmen used to wear in English canals, named after Louis de La Vallière, mistress of Louis XIV.) If the works of French academics are to have the effect in the English-speaking world which they should have, it must be accepted that translating them is a difficult and exacting business. On this evidence an English reader could

hardly be blamed for deciding that Gernet's thought was maddeningly unintelligible.

J.-P. Vernant is also the chief creator of *La mort, les moris, dans les sociétés antiques*, a collection of papers by members of the Oriental Institute of Naples and the Centre for Comparative Study of Ancient History in Paris. Most of the papers collected in it are concerned with death in early Greece; others deal with Iran, Mesopotamia, the Hittites, Egypt, India and Indo-China. In view of the title the absence of Rome, from which we have thousands of epitaphs and a mass of other evidence, is surprising. Some of the papers, which are in French and Italian, are reports of excavations, setting out results in some detail; the rest are literary, and on subjects which can be grouped under the rubric "the ideology of death".

In the introduction Vernant describes the aim as being to make intelligible the whole pattern of past societies, in life and death. The way in which a society treats its dead gives us an image of the society itself. The dead may be divided by sex: men and women are often buried with characteristically different offerings, and at Posidonia, for instance, the frescoes in tombs show men on their feet, women reclining. In principle, a man dies as a warrior, but a woman dies a natural death. At Pithecusa the dead were divided by age: adults were cremated, children inhumed. That must have implications for the way in which children were thought of. While it is easy to say that, it is harder to know what the difference was. It is a sinister fact that large stones were placed on the coffins of the inhumed; presumably to prevent their coming back. Perhaps these things go together. The children could not be cremated because they had not reached adulthood, and for that reason too their discontented ghosts might be excluded from the proper place of the dead beyond the grave. Offerings may be left beside the body, to be used by the dead as if they were still alive in the tomb; or they may be poured out, or smashed, or burnt, as if the point were to send them on to another world by destroying them in this one. Fashioned by expenditure on the dead - a matter of social prestige as well as religious belief - may change; the same community can be seen at one time making lavish offerings, at another spending its wealth on decorating the tomb instead. In



The dead shown still enjoying some of the pleasures of life: an Etruscan couple reclining on a rectangular couch, terracotta sarcophagus 20cm long of a kind developed in the sixth century for bodies buried rather than cremated. The figures are cynically deriving from Archade Greece; that reproduced above was found at Cerveteri (ancient Caere) and dates from c.200 BC; an illustration in A. World History of Art by Hugh Honour and John Fleming (639pp. Macmillan, £15.95 0 333 23583 5), to be reviewed in a later issue of the TLS

Mesopotamia the preservation of the bones of ancestors was of supreme importance; in India the aim was to remove all physical trace of the body of the dead, to free the soul. It is interesting to find that slaves might be buried with the family of the owner, but it seems at Pithecusa that their remains might subsequently be treated with little ceremony.

Some of the literary essays are very suggestive. Vernant and several of his pupils write about "la belle mort" of the Homeric hero and the survival of this idea in later Greece. As always, his ideas are stimulating; but his assumption that a hero like Achilles was the epitome of the ideal of the hero is not really true to the *Iliad*. Achilles thinks seriously of sailing away and living to a ripe old age. It is

also altogether too simple to say that Homer regards heroic death as "beautiful" and the death of an old man as "ugly", something to be evaded by dying young. The "very gentle death in easy old age" which Odysseus is promised in the *Odyssey* is a blessing, not a threat. Another contributor builds structuralist fantasies on the Stoics regarded that the Cynics and the Stoics regarded it as an obligation to eat the corpses of their relatives: this supports a body of speculation about the sage being "between the gods and the animals", *teorophagy* as giving the elite soul triumph over the body, and so on. It appears that what the philosophers said was that disposal of the dead was not a matter for superstitions awe - "it wouldn't matter if you were to eat them". This was meant to shock the respectable, but

there is no sign, and no likelihood, that it was ever regarded as an obligatory reality.

The book contains a lot of footnotes thought on these grave matters. Some of the early essays repeat themselves, or repeat Vernant (I got tired of footnotes referring me to Vernant's unpublished lectures given at Paris in 1977), a few are flimsy, and one or two of the archaeological ones are rather too technical for a wide public. And the absence of an index is a serious deficiency in a book of this kind where a particular topic may come up anywhere. But all in all the collection is well worth while; and the two papers by Bérard and by A. M. Snodgrass at the institution of the hero cult in the eighth century, mutually contradictory as their theses are, will both be found important by Hellenists.

extreme logical positions into prominence. Paul is able to see the way in which they emerge and interact within his material.

The resulting analysis reaches far into the murky origins of those conflicts in the human psyche which erupt into history and become focused in legend and dramas designed to expiate culturally obsessive themes of ancestral guilt. Paul's arguments are often exceedingly subtle and one is sometimes tempted to accuse him of a rationalized imposition of his ideas upon materials wide open to alternative interpretations. None the less, he achieves the considerable feat of providing stimulating and provocative explanations of the following puzzles - the contrasting ways in which monks and yogis attempt to solve their oedipal problems and the consequent contrasts in the iconography that represent these differing ideals on the walls of Tibetan temples; the reason why both the kings of old Tibet and most Dalai Lamas have died young; the relation between their symbolic content; the myth of Padmasambhava - hero of successive oedipal encounters; the paradoxical saintly life of Milarepa; legend and lore concerning the Tibetan theocracy. It would be churlish to note the many convincing applications of his method and the inadequacy of arguments that may, for example, apply to Sherpas but which would not work in Zankar. Rather, it is important to note the skill and power of his argument as again and again he successfully demonstrates that at least the plausibility of his main theme.

The chapter on the life of Milarepa is particularly illuminating. In it Paul not only achieves a fascinating analysis of a most extraordinary Yogi who exploits still have great appeal upon the Tibetan mind but also shows how the biographical account contains and reflects the same themes found in a personal form in less historically bound myths and legends.

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HUGH TINKER (Editor)

A Message from the Falklands: The Life and Gallant Death of David Tinker. Lieut RN
203pp with black-and-white illustrations. Junction Books. £3.50.
0 86245 102 7

Readers (though not perhaps viewers) of *Brideshead Revisited* will remember that Charles Ryder first made the acquaintance of Lady Marchmain at a time when she was "engaged in making a memorial book for circulation among her friends, about her brother, Ned, the eldest of three legendary heroes all killed between Mons and Passchendaele" - her material a quantity of poems and letters that he had left. Here, as in so many other ways, Waugh's feel for period detail is uncannily exact. Pious memorials to individual members of the Lost Generation came off private presses by the dozen in the 1920s; the Macnaghten Library at Eton seems, misleadingly, to consist of little else. They have even started to become collector's items, so strong is the period flavour that they evoke, as objects as fit as literature. Unmarked wide-eyed eyes gaze gravely at the reader from underneath a wide-crowned black cap, badged with the bronze of the 60th or the Rifle Brigade; a sheet of tissue paper separates the frontpiece from the text, set in large type on handmade paper. Small testimonials follow, from housemaster, commanding officer, brother subalterns: "Vivian came to Charterhouse from Snodgrass in Michaelmas, 1909, bringing a reputation as a promising left-arm bowler..." "Charles was instantly at home in the battalion and had survived..." "Although we only knew Aubrey for a few weeks..." The letters assure parents that life in the trenches is very like the sixth-form, that the men in the platoon use a joy to command, that being at the front gives a different meaning to things taken previously for granted - blisters, fresh air, sleep, friendship and soon the Big Push...

How easy today to let sentimentality submerge sadness as one closes the covers on these tiny memorials of forgotten young lives? Born to empire, raised for sacrifice; of course, one says to oneself, publishing one of these little books must have been a ritual of the time... It is not, one hopes, a thought one will ever harbour again after one has laid aside this

memorial of one of the casualties of the Falklands campaign. If, that is, one can lay it aside: these utterly unassuming letters carry the reader compulsively from one to the next, and the vaulting high spirits and ring of integrity which they convey promise to return hauntingly to the mind whenever the subject of the Falklands is recalled. The campaign has been much in the mind of all during these last six months, and has projected a kaleidoscopic whirl of emotions - national pride, anxiety, doubt, dissent, relief, exaltation. But the emotions have on the whole been collective, invested in the Task Force and its units, shared - or emphatically not shared - with the nation at large. There has been grief, but of an attenuated, vicarious sort. The bereaved have had our sympathy. The dead have not aroused our curiosity. What they might have felt as they went to do their duty, or while they were about it, is not a question that has been asked, and so it has not been answered. David Tinker's letters answer it - in a moving and unforgettable way.

David, the son of the historian, Hugh Tinker, was born for the Royal Navy. The family had an imperial tradition, and patriotism and ideals of service were noted as salient traits of his character from an early age. He came from a large and close family, intellectual and idealistic in outlook, whose liberal and evangelical principles were reinforced by his schooling at Mill Hill. He was too independent of mind, and not quite sufficiently academic to be a truly successful schoolboy, though he was successful enough - head of the corps, joint editor of the magazine, captain of shooting. But the qualities which his contemporaries and masters remember - moral courage, cheerfulness, passion for order - warmly recommended him to the Dartmouth selection board and he went to *Briantia* - as the navy always calls it - in 1975.

His cadet and midshipman service was unexceptional, save for his scholarly success. In the last twenty years the services have sought both to attract graduates as officers and to find university places for the most promising products of the services.

David had always had a remarkable talent for writing English; indeed, one of the most arresting qualities of his letters reproduced here, which date from his boyhood to his death, is the consistently mature style of both their composition and their

general. The only variant was the proportion of rum to water. In Vernon's day it was a quart of water to half-a-pint of rum, but four to one soon became three to one. Drunkenness increased during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars and became such a menace that in 1823 the daily rum-ration was halved to a quarter of a pint, and compensation provided in the form of tea and cocoa. This still meant the equivalent of four large whiskies going down a sailor's throat at one fell swoop.

The "halcyon days of grog" were, according to Captain Pack, 1850 to 1918, a period when the issue was more or less stabilized and the privilege respected more than abused. By 1928 the ratio had fallen to two to one, making an altogether more acceptable and powerful drink.

Pack's book is consistently interesting and the history is enlivened with numerous anecdotes. There is a chapter called "The Navy Ritual" which for anyone who served in the Royal Navy on the lower deck during the Second World War is almost unbearably nostalgic. The illustrations, several in colour, are well chosen. It is good to know, moreover, that Pussers's Rum can still be obtained. The Admiralty having allowed Charles Tobias to use the formula. Nothing is better for seasickness, or helps more to make unappetizing food palatable, or more strengthens the resolve in times of crisis. It is certainly addictive, but that is another matter.

Vernon organized the serving of rum under proper supervision and the process scarcely changed in 230 years. Before long the issue, initially confined to ships in West Indian waters, was

content. He was a very grown-up young man from an early age, with firm and sensible views which he instinctively understood how to translate into clear and flowing prose. Occasionally he wrote verse, and at least one of the poems printed here, on school religion, is far above the level of sixth-form poetry. The Dartmouth Director of Studies singled David out for university training and, after some time at sea, he went to read history at Birmingham in 1976.

The cruiser sort of officer may well now say that university spoiled David. He transferred to the Supply from the Seaman branch on his return, and talked of leaving when his five statutory years were up. But he had become engaged while an undergraduate, and it was perhaps inevitable in someone of such vigorous unpretentiousness that he should tire of the rather obsessive emphasis on ritual, routine and distinctions of rank which characterize all armed forces in peacetime, but evaporate instantaneously on the outbreak of hostilities. He tried to get a shore job, to be near his wife after they married in 1980 - she was an officer in the Women's Royal Army Corps - but a posting to *Glamorgan* as secretary to the captain - "a very lively, human and Christian gentleman", all qualities of strong positive value to David - reconciled him to more seafaring and apparently also to staying on.

He was coming to the end of his tour, which had taken him to the Gulf, and was with the fleet exercising off Gibraltar when the order to proceed to the Falklands came. The following twenty-six letters he wrote from the South Atlantic, mostly to his wife, Christine, the rest to his parents and friends and one passionate outpouring to his father alone, addressed as a fellow veteran, form the core of the book. He may also have written some poetry but if so, like the sonnets of C. S. Forester's Seaman Preteign in *The Ship*, that marvellous documentary novel which these letters so uncannily bring to mind, they perished with him.

The letters must be read as a whole for their quality as a whole; since none was a deliberate literary composition, they do not lend themselves to criticism or quotation. Yet their literary force is undeniable, particularly in the way they complement each other to provide a continuous narrative. The writer is not particularly concerned with himself, though it is easily possible to chart the

ebb and flow of his emotions from what he writes. He describes the ship and its work, the behaviour of his shipmates, the bare bones of the actions that he witnesses, most of them too quickly over to leave a clear impression; he analyses the strategy of the campaign, as he is able to perceive it; but most of all he discourses on its motivation and morality. Quite simply, he detests and strongly disapproves of the war. His mood as he starts south, it is true, is light-hearted. It is also true that his anger is most violently expressed in mid-May, when he may well have had a lively fear of *Glamorgan* going the way of *Sheffield*. But these are understandable psychic swings. What does not alter is his disapproval of using violence to settle a conflict he feels should have been concluded by diplomacy. It is a point of view which he knows contains flaws and impracticalities, especially given the Argentine intransigence. But the very most that he is prepared to accept by way of hostility is "if one of our submarines could just sink a small Argentinean ship (preferably without loss of life)". That was his position on April 12 and he maintained it throughout. On June 12, while he was at his post on the flight deck of the *Glamorgan*, the ship was hit by a land-launched Exocet fired from Port Stanley and he and twelve sailors were killed.

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Oedipal encounters

John Hurrell Crook

ROBERT A. PAUL
The Tibetan Symbolic World: Psychoanalytic Explorations
347pp. University of Chicago Press, £9.50.
0 226 64987 3

The driving energy of Tibetan culture is displayed in an astonishing diversity of folk-tales, dramas, semi-historical legends, magical and religious rituals, pantheons of deities, images for meditation in monastic rites, state ceremonial and cosmological conceptions. There is a characteristic Tibetan "sound" that reverberates within the traditional Buddhism of the old theocracy, indeed, much of the tone of these legendary personalities and mythology originated in the pre-Buddhist period and became reworked within the Indianized culture of later centuries. As in the myths of Greece, Germanic folk-tales and Shakespeare's plays, the descent of kings, their origins, wars, infidelities and problems of succession provide a fundamental motif. If one could learn to understand the power of such inter-generational themes and the way that power structures the symbolic manifestations of a culture, then much that seems chaotic, arbitrary or lacking in meaning might become open to rational interpretation.

In his wide-ranging, erudite and enthusiastic book Robert A. Paul displays not only great knowledge of Tibetan culture, but also great analytical inventiveness. He tackles the immense task of providing an interpretive system for Tibetan culture with a confidence which, at times somewhat overbearing, never lacks a basis in thoughtful scholarship.

Theorists of social anthropology make a distinction between *emic* analyses which examine the concepts and symbols of a culture within the system of meaning which representatives of that system themselves provide, and *etic* studies which interpret the same material from an external viewpoint, usually with a reductionist orientation, in terms of economics or ecology, for example. *Etic* studies can be subjected, in principle to verification in the usual scientific manner while *emic* studies are essentially descriptions of the way in which other cultures explain themselves to themselves.

The Tibetan Symbolic World purports to be an *etic* study, for Dr Paul attempts to reduce the complexity of Tibetan symbols and thematic relationships to their supposedly psychoanalytic bedrock. The main doubt about such a procedure must be validation. Western culture has absorbed the basic outlook of Freud and his followers that psychoanalytic interpretations may now be said to belong to the *emic* and not the *etic* realm. They are simply the way in which our culture has come to explain itself and which put intellectual and technological dominance in the world, now seeks to enforce on other cultures. If this argument were to be sustained, Paul's work is reduced to being a projection of his own emic system upon *Symbolic World* and therefore not rather upon the overall complexity and pervasiveness of Paul's interpretation.

His method is to put forward a basic assumption about the prime movers of traditional cultures and the way in which thematic transformations can generate stories, legends, dramas, rituals and so on. His approach draws

much from the notions of generative grammar in the analysis of linguistic construction. His assumption is derived from Freud's belief that the problems originated was the discovery of parental sex by the child and the oedipal scenario so precipitated. He writes, "It is my view - that just as culture is brought into existence and shaped in response to the exigencies of external reality... so it must cope well with internal necessities, with the existential dilemmas of mortal life and with the psychic peculiarities of homo sapiens (sic)..." culture... has as one arising from our own phylogenetic constitution." In this basic affirmation Paul asserts both the validity of his cultural and existential analysis and its anchorage in sociology.

He argues that as man emerged from his primitive social origins, complete with his capacity for self-identification, property, ownership and rank in social hierarchy, the problem of succession (in terms of material and social power) from senior to junior males, became a mode of conflict inherent in all societal institutions. He formulates a view of this conflict in a set of basic propositions. The rivalries between father and son involve four thematic imperatives: senior males must kill junior males; senior males must not kill senior males; junior males must kill senior males; junior males must not kill senior males. The origin of the ambivalence lies in the fact that for of rank is hierarchical, ambivalence, etc. father must kill son, but son must inherit without the guilt of patricide. A lesser theme would have focused on the ambivalence of these relationships, but by forcing the

extreme logical positions into prominence, Paul is able to see the way in which they emerge and interact within his material.

The resulting analysis reaches far into the murky origins of those conflicts in the human psyche which erupt into history and become focused in legend and dramas designed to expiate culturally obsessive themes of ancestral guilt. Paul's arguments are often exceedingly subtle and one is sometimes tempted to accuse him of a rationalized imposition of his ideas upon materials wide open to alternative interpretations. None the less, he achieves the considerable feat of providing stimulating and provocative explanations of the following puzzles - the contrasting ways in which monks and yogis attempt to solve their oedipal problems and the consequent contrasts in the iconography that represent these differing ideals on the walls of Tibetan temples; the reason why both the kings of old Tibet and most Dalai Lamas have died young; the relation between their symbolic content; the myth of Padmasambhava - hero of successive oedipal encounters; the paradoxical saintly life of Milarepa; legend and lore concerning the Tibetan theocracy. It would be churlish to note the many convincing applications of his method and the inadequacy of arguments that may, for example, apply to Sherpas but which would not work in Zankar. Rather, it is important to note the skill and power of his argument as again and again he successfully demonstrates that at least the plausibility of his main theme.

The chapter on the life of Milarepa is particularly illuminating. In it Paul not only achieves a fascinating analysis of a most extraordinary Yogi who exploits still have great appeal upon the Tibetan mind but also shows how the biographical account contains and reflects the same themes found in a personal form in less historically bound myths and legends.

Near the end of the book Paul writes of his study of the murder of the Tibetan king Glang dar ma - "The aim will have been achieved if, when the reader finally encounters my analysis of Glang dar ma's death, he sees in full regalia the depth, centrality, significance and 'grammaticality' of the symbolism... My hope is that the analysis as it now stands is convincing... because a close look at the ethnographic material leads inevitably to that conclusion". Paul, who is a persuasive enthusiast, impels me in this direction. Yet, perhaps ungenerously, I wonder whether he could not have formulated alternative interpretations based on other psychological material, premises and then demonstrated that they are inapplicable to his material. A good scientist is said to proceed, hypotheses and to proof of them, and therefore to be dismissed as a failure to do so.

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Rationalization

Alan Ross

JAMES PACK
Nelson's Blood: The story of naval rum
200pp with colour and black-and-white illustrations. Havant: Kenneth Mason, £9.95.
0 85937 279 0

July 31, 1970, was Black Tot Day, when Up Spirits - "Stand Fast the Holy Ships" was piped on Her Majesty's Ships for the last time. The abolition of rum as a privilege for ratings on sea-going ships had been under serious discussion as long ago as the 1920s and 1930s but the Second World War had, mercifully, despite the continual rumblings of Lady Astor, put an end to a specific proposal. By 1970, however, Admirals Sir Michael Le Fanu and Sir Frank Twiss, had come to the conclusion that errors of judgement and manipulation with ultra-sophisticated equipment were liable to take place if the rum-ration continued. Accordingly, in one single act, three hundred years of tradition got the chop.

The Admirals were probably right. Admiralty or "Pusser's" rum, 65.5 double-gins, was no longer a suitable drink for a modern navy. During the war a Temperance man received three times as much rum as the rest of the crew in lieu of grog; by 1970 the value of the grog issued was nearer 80p to the "man lost out heavily,

Service and dissent

John Keegan

content. He was a very grown-up young man from an early age, with firm and sensible views which he instinctively understood how to translate into clear and flowing prose. Occasionally he wrote verse, and at least one of the poems printed here, on school religion, is far above the level of sixth-form poetry. The Dartmouth Director of Studies singled David out for university training and, after some time at sea, he went to read history at Birmingham in 1976.

The cruiser sort of officer may well now say that university spoiled David. He transferred to the Supply from the Seaman branch on his return, and talked of leaving when his five statutory years were up. But he had become engaged while an undergraduate, and it was perhaps inevitable in someone of such vigorous unpretentiousness that he should tire of the rather obsessive emphasis on ritual, routine and distinctions of rank which characterize all armed forces in peacetime, but evaporate instantaneously on the outbreak of hostilities. He tried to get a shore job, to be near his wife after they married in 1980 - she was an officer in the Women's Royal Army Corps - but a posting to *Glamorgan* as secretary to the captain - "a very lively, human and Christian gentleman", all qualities of strong positive value to David - reconciled him to more seafaring and apparently also to staying on.

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November Books

Fiction

THE QUIET DOGS

John Gardner

His first two thrillers featuring Big Herbie Kruger, *The Nostradamus Traitor* and *The Garden of Weapons*, were both bestsellers - now a superb suspense to complete the trilogy. £7.95

THE STALLION MAN

Judith Glover

An evocative historical novel set in rural Sussex in 1862 featuring a 'stallion man' who travels the country with his Shire horse, welcomed not only by the farmers with mares for breeding, but also by the women of these isolated communities. £7.95

LIFE SENTENCES

Elizabeth Forsythe Hailey

From the bestselling author of *A Woman of Independent Means*, a sensational novel about the relationships among three women brought together by personal crisis and how, in the end, they are strengthened by it. £7.95

OLD LOVE'S DOMAIN

Iris Bromige

A triple tragedy drives Laura to take refuge in a dream world of long ago as custodian to Mellon Park, a gracious Jacobean house and garden recently opened to the public. £5.95

TAKE THE MONEY AND RUN

Laurence Payne

A bestselling author of the sixties returns with an outstanding novel, part detective story part thriller. Mark Savage, one-time stuntman now turned private investigator, is being trailed. £7.95

Non-Fiction

THE VELVET GLOVE

Michael Glover

The decline and fall of moderation in war From a distinguished military historian, the first account that shows the rules by which wars have been fought for more than 2,000 years. £9.95

No damned amateur

CORNELL UNIVERSITY PRESS
Ely House, 37 Dover Street
London W1X 4HQ
or
P.O. Box 250, Ithaca, New York 14850

One could wish that the author had had enough time to write a straightforward biography, or an annotated selection of her contributions to *Die Zeit* (the eight which are quoted, what one's appetite for more), or a more extensive picture-gallery which brought in additional figures essential to a full understanding of the period, such as Schumacher, Kitzinger, Schoel, Wehner and Strauss. Such sketches could have concentrated

portages from the past. The book is poorly produced, and it is hard to find any originality: like other recent textbooks on Southeast Asian history, it relies on the ideas of the late D. G. E. Hall. Among its omissions are to be noted the medieval state of Champa and that of the "little tradition" (the realm of the historical anthropologist) which has shaped Southeast Asian culture (in China more than in India, the Buddhist and Hindu varajas of the "great tradition" notwithstanding. An "Asia-centred" approach calls for more ingenuity than mere anti-colonial prejudice.

At all events she treated her stepfather, "my poor Plumie," with something of the fond, dithering frankness which is Bobbie's or Stiffie's invariable response to clumps like Woolter ("He would sell a cheque for fifty pounds to anyone at any time for seven-and-a-halfpence cash," wrote Leonora in the *Mind* magazine for January 1925: "as a result of fact this is how I keep my head above water"). It is not hard to detect from this time the same branding note that she took up in her autobiography, "His feeling for pekes, like his feeling for Dudwily, verged on his feeling for me," writes Dorothy, crying.

this beauty era of young Bloomsbury novelists . . . For the last thirty years or so of his life, he made do without a single friend, Guy Bolton ("you or I need one friend"). Company & anathema to him: Donaldson told another nice story of herself and the inordinately sociable Freddy turner only to be met on the doorstep by the host saying urgently, "Don't come. You'll hate it." Fifty years later he was still begging friends for his own company, not to come to his ninetieth birthday party. The party-giver was his wife Ethel, whose chief asset, he said, was that she was that

Amazing Times: a selection of the most amusing and amazing articles from THE TIMES 1945-1981 (252pp. George Allen and Unwin. £6.95. 0 04 88083 3) and **Famous Shopping Fiascos** (200pp. The Bodley Head. £5.95. 0 370 3041 0) both by Stephen Winkworth. Both recently published. Amongst the general sections in the latter book are "Weather and the Field of Play" and "Pigs, Libbers and Swind-Blitters".

The Complete Cleverhans, introduced by Gavin Ewart. He draws on Nicolas Bentley's autobiography for a melancholy account of B.

Even if Bentley set a standard for the verse form he invented, there are hardly any poems in the book for more than two examples, or two, the clearest is still alive. It does not have the muscular strength of the limerick, so much improved by the abandonment of Edward Lear's bathetically repetitious fifth line, but, for some reason, it does not accommodate obscene material, with anything like the hospitality of the older stanza. Few are known to have invented a verse form as attractive as the Sapphic, Alcaic and B. Clorlew Bentley. Always supposing rhyme royal got its name from its use by King James I, *The King's Quail*, always supposing was he who wrote it, the form was being long before, with Machiavel and Chaucer. Not only has the clorlew caught on more than the clorlewina, "Adelaide Crapsey (1878-1914): there is the fact that it is known as the clorlewina, and some of the best hard-possible in the course of the unhappy poetess. With these two voluntes Henry Hardy, the publisher, is imprecario behind them, established a compelling claim recognition in the bookshelves of properly equipped spare rooms.

Living back to back

D. J. Enright

KATHLEEN DAYUS

Her People
224pp. Virago. £4.50.
0 86668 275 7

Kathleen Dayus was born in 1903 in Hockley, an overcrowded slum district of Birmingham, where she, her parents and five siblings lived in a three-room house, one of a set of ten houses in a court, built five by five, back to back. A standpipe, two wash-houses and five "dry" closets were shared by the occupants of the ten houses. Work was hard to find, and wages low. The only people who did a good trade round there, Mrs Dayus says, were the undertaker and the midwife, though the latter's services couldn't always be afforded. Why were there so many children, then? (Kate's mother had thirteen, of whom seven died in infancy; the author was the thirteenth, "the scraping of the pot", as her mother put it.) Not solely or even primarily because of ignorance of birth control, or distaste for it, but to be "on the safe side", to have reserves for the children who were likely to die. This of course is the consideration that has bedevilled family planning in Asia: first you need to plan against death. Kate's family was lucky. If anything, since her father found a job at a casting works which brought in twenty-five shillings a week for a twelve-hour day. She herself started work in 1917, thanks to the war: pressing and drilling army trouser buttons at 13s 6d for a forty-eight-and-a-half-hour week.

Times have changed since, and now we have compassion, colour television, the National Health Service, and short memories. And so, Mrs Dayus says of the people of Hockley, "her people", they may have had nothing, but they don't deserve to be forgotten". In this autobiography she pays unsentimental tributes to them, not through adult moralizing (the reader can do that) but by re-creating them as they appeared to the eyes of an indigenous and intelligent child.

The ponderous kitchen grate, so much larger than the meals cooked on it... the slack thrown on the back of the fire to bank it up, and the old tea-leaves thrown on the back of the slack for the tin bath dragged in front of the fire... bread and dripping... mouldy oranges thrown out by shopkeepers... the print of "Bubbles" on the wall (now ousted by Treichliff's ethnic lady, if television is to be trusted), and the faded photographs of unrecognizable relatives... the nauseous medicines (if they didn't taste bad then they didn't do any good)... "dirty heads" (he sits the hair)... playing in the churchyard (Does this go on today, or are such ones reserved for new-fangled luxury perversions?)... the malevolent mangle and the washing hung up to dry... that you had to be careful to duck under... those modest Christmas stockings... a treasured home-made golliwog (how come they didn't turn us into a nation of nigger-lovers?)... liquorice laces and bull's-eyes... "What a lot of fish and chips you could buy then for tuppence!", and you could earn the odd tuppence by running errands or singing carols outside the pub.

If Mrs Dayus's book makes some of us remember our youth, John Rudd's introduction to it—accurate, no doubt, but rather suggesting that the first decade of the twentieth century is chronologically much the same as the age of Boudicca, the slant dwellers of Birmingham as remote as some of the Britons—is likely to make some of us feel: our age. And likewise the occasional footnotes. Mum uses the tea-leaves over and over again before they go to the slack, and when Granny complains that the tea tastes like "mild's water" she means it is weak. The note explains: "outmoded slang for wine"—but Granny wouldn't object to tea tasting like wine! Perhaps "combs" ("abbreviation of combinations") does... need explanation, and also "dolly" (for "copper"), but does "three brass balls" is the pawnbroker? If so, perhaps "pawm" should... there was distinguished from "pawm": there was nothing like the latter in those

spiritually impoverished days. As for the sexual prudery of the working classes, I sometimes doubt whether the footnotes in the world would help more recent generations to understand it. Here, the showing of a bare child's bottom leads to its being promptly uncovered again and beaten—oddly enough, you might think, in front of those it was shown to. But then, punishment had no improper connotations, and when administered in public it served to teach the bystanders a lesson too.

Kate skips along, from one incident to another, one emotion to the next. And because she doesn't stop to worry over it, Mrs Dayus gets the feel of life right; and also, which is rare, the reproduction of her people's speech, underdone rather than overdone. The pains and sorrows of childhood, a childhood of this specific and yet not uncommon kind, are run together with the excitements and modest pleasures—and (which does not strike us as a later importation) the protective shrewdness. The techniques for getting round people and gauging the safest way to steal meat pies or pig's pudding would need to be firmly established at a time of heavy infant mortality, and of hunger. Kate is reckoned to be an uncommonly honest child, but this does not stop her blackmailing her mother: if she will promise not to tell Dad the truth of how Mum came by her black eye, then Mum must promise never to hit her again. Both sides of the bargain are kept, though Kate says there were times when she would rather have had her mother hit her than lash her with her tongue.

In the event Kate's story is distinctly less grim than John Rudd's introduction. Privations and discomforts abound, but the often slips into something approaching farce, as when describing her brother Jack's trial on the (well-founded) charge of stealing a small pig. The witnesses called by the prosecution, all of them neighbourhood gossips, either change their tune or complain of the heat in the court-room (one woman is wearing a large red wig "for best") or want to sit down because of "varicous veins" (this one lurches up her skirt to display the evidence), until the magistrate, fearing for his sanity, dismisses the case. Then there is the day when the children find samples of Ex-Lax left on the doormats, and take them for chocolate, their parents having gone to church for the annual sale of bedclothes. ("I thought how wicked and crafty our people were; they only went to church when something was being given away free... The only other time they went was for weddings, christenings and funerals.") In school later, half the class clamour to leave the room simultaneously; there being too many to come, the disbelieving teacher keeps them in to write lines—and the inevitable is bound to happen.

Furthest of all, though edgy too, is the account of a neighbourhood excursion into the countryside to pick hops, which (the sociologist may find this disconcerting) occupies a third of the book. This is meant to be working holiday for the wives and a change of air for the children. The women earn two bob a day (perhaps there should be a footnote: "bob" = outmoded slang for shilling, shilling being outmoded equivalent of 5p), while Kate has the job of looking after the younger kids. Why, someone asks, spend hard-earned pennies on a tin of condensed milk when you can get fresh milk from the farmhouse?—"It's ter shove on the twins' dumplings, ter keep 'em quiet" is the answer. All of them are scared of the cows, and Kate is even terrorized by a small lame pig, who follows her around fondly; she has eaten pig's trotters at home, and remembers what her Granny used to say: "Animals are like elephants, they never forget." The pig's fate, after it has passed through Jack's hands, is unknown, by the way.

Country air seems to have had a bad effect on these townies' tempers and on their morals too. After Kate has written to her father asking to be fetched home (they have no stamp, but her sister Liza presses a wet thumb on the top right-hand corner of the envelope: "The postman will think the stamp's fallen off") this eventual episode comes to an end—except that

two policemen later visit their house, so scaring Kate that she weets her bloomers, which was standard practice in the face of the law at that time.

Sadness sets in with adulthood, in the book's short final chapter, "How Things Turned Out". Kate married in 1921. A skilled enameller of brooches and badges and car-plates, she had to give up work whenever she was pregnant, and her husband was mostly unemployed; at times he would buy sawdust from the sawmills and sell it to pubs and butchers. He died three days after she had her fifth baby, leaving her a widow at the age of twenty-eight. Not, as the blurb has it, at twenty-six; and both the blurb and the introduction are incorrect in stating that she was left with five children: the elder of her two sons had been knocked down and killed by a meat van on his way back from school. She was forced to let her children go into a Dr Barnardo's home: "I know I'd done the right thing. That was not what my Mum and the neighbours thought. I was the worst woman in the district!" The mother was a kindly soul, and they soon settled down happily enough. This may remind us of an earlier incident, when Frankie, Kate's favourite brother, collapses at school and is taken to hospital. On his return home, his mother asks him how he liked having the nurses looking after him, and he replies incautiously: "Smashing! It was better than here", hastily adding, "Well, you know what I mean."

It was not until the Second World War, when Kate's skill in enamelling enabled her to open a small workshop of her own, that she could take back the children—apart from her son, who by this time was a naval cadet. War gives, war takes away: Mum and Mary, the eldest sister, were killed during the air raid which destroyed the old back-to-backs. We are told that Kate has since remarried, has a large family of grandchildren and great-grandchildren, plays bowls for Warwickshire, and is planning a

further instalment of her memoirs. Good on her!

John Rudd, to whom it seems we are truly indebted for sponsoring this book, claims that it "stands as an important addition to the literature of democratic, feminist autobiography". For this description he deserves the Ten Bob Award for Anachronism—except that he quickly recovers himself, noting that the book does not set out "to correct or bolster some contemporary academic interpretation", nor (we might add) does it make use of past casualties as ammunition. In some political war fought on different ground. Rather, Rudd continues, it is "the voice of childhood recollected in old age", as a consequence he finds its texture of the world "vaguely perceived", shimmering "fantastically beyond our grasp", and therefore he furnishes a historical and social background, facts and figures, to the time and the place. Fair enough, and economically done, though I was not myself troubled by any marked sense of vagueness or impersonality. The book's success derives largely from the co-presence of a child's natural tones and the overtones sounding from the "grown-up" world just outside. Statistics may tell the truth, but they don't bring it alive.

Yet *Her People* might be said to be "feminist" in some sense of the word. Women certainly predominate in it (even when jobs the men seem to be absent), as they generally do in a child's view of life, but they are also more tenacious, more outspoken, more "characterful". And it is they, apparently, who administer sex, or dole it out somewhat grudgingly. One night when Kate is going downstairs for a drink of water she is mystified to hear her mother saying, "You can put it away! I've already had a baker's dozen. I'm 'aving no more so you can get to sleep", and supposes that she is sick from eating too much bread. We get the impression that there wasn't

much sexual activity in those three room back-to-backs—in which case, practically every instance of it must have resulted in pregnancy. Kate's family, I suspect, was not altogether typical. She describes her mother as spiteful and cruel, especially towards her, while her father, affectionate when tipsy (which wasn't very often), usually took a back seat. He would assert himself on rare occasions, notably when he detected dishonesty (and the possibility of being found out) in the air. The parental situation was something like that of *Sons and Lovers* in reverse; Mum couldn't read or write. Dad could write and just about manage to read the newspaper.

Mum was a notorious local teragant, independent-minded and physically generous, weighing in at sixteen stone. During the hop-picking excursion she and the other girls widows fall in with some rough fellows at a country pub. Having treated the women all evening, the men follow the children are sleeping in the expectation of re-creating, instead, "that's as far as yet got"—they get kicked in the appropriate places and tossed out on their backs, the women suffering nothing worse in the milk than Mum's embarrassing black eye, referred to earlier.

Life in those times and circumstances was hard for all concerned, in ways which today (even though we have our own well-advertised horrors) we may find inconceivable rather than unacceptable—the marking of "red" clothing so that it couldn't be pawned, to take a mild example—but, in Kate's neighbourhood at any rate, the larger part of the power as well as the responsibility seems to have rested with the women. The truest eye "feminists", utterly unacquainted with that expression, were found in the working classes: they were known as "mothers", and they were permanently embattled.

Cold comforts

Nesta Roberts

JOHN BURNETT

Destiny Obscure: Autobiographies of Childhood, Education and Family from the 1820's to the 1920's.
345pp. Allen Lane, £9.50.
0 7139 1214 6

JEREMY SEABROOK

Working Class Childhood
251pp. Gollancz, £10.95.
0 575 031980

"I shall not leave you much money, but I will teach you every job, then you can always go to work". Fred Boughton's father told his sons in the Forest of Dean, seventy-one years ago. And, as he is quoted in *Destiny Obscure*, he showed them "every job in the garden and on the farm, including how to get stone in the quarry and trim it to build stone walls, and how to put a roof on a shed... also... how to lay hedges".

"I was brought up poor and I made up my mind I was going to buy Kelly the best childhood there is", a mother, herself the daughter of a East London rag-and-bone man, told Jeremy Seabrook in our own day. No amount of descriptive prose could convey as vividly as do those extracts the difference between the two worlds described in these books which, by the same time, have appeared at the "teach" and "buy" the ethos of a personal experience and personal accomplishment against that of the market-place.

For readers who have even a rudimentary acquaintance with social history, there will be little that is unfamiliar in John Burnett's analysis of the autobiographies, most of them not previously published, covering the period between the 1820s and the 1920s, but the reader's knowledge is removed from the piercing reality that

comes through in these individual voices. Most striking is the distinction between poverty and misery. Conditions of frugality, overcrowding and a lack of the most elementary amenities, by contemporary standards, could still allow families to grow up with memories of a warm and happy childhood as long as the mother was a good manager and the father in work and not in drink. Parents, brothers and sisters, the surroundings of home, all are loved back on with affection, the rare treat, when it was a hot meal, a pie bought at an Oldham street-corner or a new bonnet saved for over months and worn over years, was ecstasy to an untravelling palate. Compared with that atmosphere of perpetual contriving, when groceries were bought by the ha'porth, the life of the "respectable" working class, with a good fire in the grate and a square meal on the table, was luxury; below it was a degree of need which brutalized. The battle for survival left no room for parental love and gave every incentive for the exploitation of children by parents—it was not until 1876 that the employment of those under ten was forbidden. Yet one who, at the age of eight, was sent into field labour under a vicious master could say later: "It was not the parents but the age that was to blame."

That same boy grew up to teach himself Latin and Greek, and became a widely recognized astronomer. The achievements of some of the self-taught are even more astonishing than the achievements of some of the old "elementary" schools' remarkable teachers. Parental support counted here and Burnett notes that it was greater in the North and particularly in Wales, than in the South of England, though he does not hazard an explanation for the fact.

As he reminds us, the eight hundred or so chronicles which he has studied cannot be taken as a completely representative sample of their several periods, since launching an autobiography is an exceptional rather than a typical activity. To a degree, the

working-class young people from whom Jeremy Seabrook has collected his oral history are exceptions also, in that those before whom a social worker holds up a microphone are likely to be contacts if not accredited clients. Possibly because the medium is so conducive to self-indulgence than are the rigours of pen and ink, their testimony is less telling, though a deal more copious than that of the earlier autobiographers. Mr Seabrook, too, has a tendency to say the same thing thrice over, in not strikingly different ways ("No skills have been called forth, no abilities tested. They have remained passive recipients as the rewards and offerings have accumulated. No creative response has been required.")

The occasional verbosity of the argument does not invalidate the thesis, that today's young have been freed from primary poverty only to become market-lodgers. It was natural that parents, wishing, and at last able to give their children what they themselves had missed—perhaps, too, feeling that such skills and tribal wisdom as they had to pass on were irrelevant in today's world—should shower them with "things". They have learned too late that the appetite grows with what it feeds on, while the children, vaguely aware that a stamp of rewards achieved without effort does not bring lasting satisfaction, still crave the next fix.

The old lady aged eighty-two who talked to the author while she waited for schoolchildren passing, eating ice-cream, sweets or crisps, or drinking Coke, had the rights of it, succinctly too. "Comforts for all the things they will never know, never learn."

The Charities Experience: Studies in Working-Class Radicalism and Culture, 1830-60 (392pp. Macmillan, £10 333 32971 6), which has recently been published, includes contributions from Robert Sykes, James Epstein and Dorothy Thompson.

The rape's progress

Marilyn Butler

LADY ELIZABETH ECHLIN

An Alternative Ending to Richardson's Clarissa
Edited by Dimitri Daphinoff
180pp. Bern: Francke. Swiss Fr 38.
37720 1549 2

TERRY EAGLETON

The Rape of Clarissa: Writing, Sexuality and Class Struggle in Samuel Richardson
120pp. Oxford: Blackwell. £12 (paperback, £4.50).
0 631 13029 2

JERRY C. BEASLEY

Novels of the 1740s
218pp. Athens: University of Georgia Press. \$15.
08203 0590 1

"Clarissa", says Terry Eagleton, in the course of his brief book on this longest of English novels, "is the story of a young woman of outstanding kindness, virtue and intelligence, who is made to suffer under a violently oppressive family, is tricked away from home by a notorious sexual predator, deceived, imprisoned, persecuted, drugged and raped, and finally impelled to her death. What have the critics made of this narrative?" Not enough, is the point of his entertaining book; and not enough, particularly, of the rape. The appearance in print for the first time of a mid-eighteenth-century attempt to write the rape out of the plot illustrates that it has been a shock to readers' systems from the beginning.

Elizabeth Echlin, née Bellingham (1710-83), was the wife of an Irish baronet and the elder sister of Richardson's friend Lady Bradshaigh. Both sisters were assiduous readers and critics of Richardson's writings, but where Lady Bradshaigh tended to be sprightly, Lady Echlin was pious. Though she gave Richardson credit for virtuous intentions in writing *Clarissa*, she found him "fascinated" in the execution of them, particularly in the matter of what she termed "the horrid outrage": "the vile, unlikely rape". A few years after the novel's appearance in 1747-48, she wrote her own version of the last three volumes, in which she brings all Richardson's leading characters to justice, and leaves the heroine dead, but intact.

Lady Echlin picks up the story at the cliff-hanging point where Richardson left it for seven months in 1748, after the issue of the first four volumes. *Clarissa*, having fended off Lovelace's first attempt at rape, has escaped from the brothel in which he imprisoned her, and taken rooms in Hampstead; but we know that Lovelace knows where she is. By breaking off the narrative here, Richardson threw the interest forcefully onto the rape. The question was not, would she eventually live happily ever after, but, would she escape immediately, or, violation? Richardson's correspondents were vociferous—"let me insist upon a turn that will make your almost despairing readers half mad with joy"—but there was to be no reprieve. Early in the final instalment *Clarissa* was inveigled back into the brothel by Lovelace's stratagems, and by her own nicely poetical notion of pooking up her things. It was on the first night back that she paid the price of her Little Red Riding Hood gullibility, when Lovelace, her wolf in wolf's clothing, drugged and raped her.

In Lady Echlin's view, no heroine set up as an example to her species would behave so foolishly. Her variant has *Clarissa* see through the first impostor Lovelace, and tends to plead for him. (Captain Tomlinson), after which she refuses to receive the whores he trains to play the parts of his aunt and cousin. Her nerves are so badly shaken by what she has already been through that she is not long for this world, but even in dissolution Lady Echlin's *Clarissa* is a born winner. When Lovelace kidnaps her on her way home from church, one glimpse of her frail appearance is enough to silence him for a quarter of an hour (Lady Echlin should have tried telling this), after which he is her humble convert for life.

Conspicuous of Richardson's

enterprising, insouciant hero would not recognize him in his Methodististic Echlin guise. At five evening he presents himself for prayers with his friend Belford, also redeemed, and a clergyman called Dr Christian who is Lady Echlin's principal addition to the cast. "Mr Lovelace owns, he finds vast satisfaction, in this pious community, and he now thinks, there is no such thing as enjoying any tolerable peace of mind, without leading a virtuous, and Religious course of life." In his born again condition Lovelace is not easy to dispose of since, unlike Richardson's character, he would hardly be a duelist. Lady Echlin's solution to the problem is to have *Clarissa*'s brutal brother James waylay him in a field, and a bizarre encounter ends in a fatal injury to both of them.

The Echlin version may be ill-written and often unintentionally funny, but it is eminently worth publishing. Dimitri Daphinoff is right to stress in his interesting preface that the document says much about the reception and also about the nature of Richardson's novel. *Clarissa* provides a striking example of the openness of the new form and its ability to bring its readers into the creative process. By issuing it in three parts, Richardson invites others to think up their own endings. By casting it in letters, he makes his readers duplicate the actions of his characters, readers of the same letters within the text. The difference should have been that the ordinary novel-reader interpreted and reacted, but did not claim the other privileges of correspondents, like the right of reply. Lady Echlin defied the convention and wrote her own letters, just as she responded to the challenge implicit in serial publication by completing the story her own way.

Lady Echlin's attitude to Richardson's version is at once humbly dependent and radical. She accepts the characters Richardson has put there, together with what they have said and done in the first four volumes; yet she sees that the events of the plot are, given the epistolary form, only the reports of events. Lovelace's correspondents (and hence the reader) already know that a rape is projected. Later other characters, including *Clarissa*'s ill-wishers in her family, will come to believe it has happened. So Lady Echlin keeps the rape in the story, but only as a scheme and an ugly rumour, an ingenious solution made possible by the indirectness of Richardson's method.

Viewed one way, it is a technical transformation, almost allowable; but it makes the most profound change imaginable to what the novel seems to say. Although the rape in Richardson's novel is not represented directly nor described in physical detail, it both dominates the plot and conveys an uncomfortable, unconforming view of the world. Even the well-intentioned heroine is in a state of war with her suitor and her family. Human nature, then, may be naturally aggressive; human life, even in civilized society, nasty, brutish and short. In the version without the rape, *Clarissa* moves nearer to *Grandison*, the new novel his uninvited collaborator tolled over *Clarissa*. The leading characters discuss problems rather than acting out virtuous dilemmas. They become benevolent and virtuous, like the principals in Rousseau's *Julie, ou la Nouvelle Héloïse*, the classic sexual encounter of the sentimental age to come.

Reacting to Lady Echlin's ending in February 1755, Richardson, who could be touchy, seems generally relaxed. He evidently senses that her bowdlerized version does not hold a candle to his own. "But think you, Madam, as you spare him his capital crime, the outrage on *Clarissa*'s Honour, that she might not have been spared to ye World?... If I had come into your Ladyship's Scheme, I think, I would have permitted her to live, and made her the Cause of every one's Happiness."

Richardson's point, that *Clarissa*'s rape and death are indissolubly connected, oddly anticipates one of the central arguments in Terry Eagleton's *Rape of Clarissa*, that both events are rounds in *Clarissa*'s contest with her

enemies. Her rape by Lovelace takes sexual bullying to its limit, but the males of her own family were sexual bullies already. It is their refusal to allow her home that seems to make her death inevitable, and gives plausibility to Eagleton's radical reading of the plot. He sees her return home in her coffin as a triumph over a society in which male bullying of women is institutionalized. Her strange victory over her father would be deprived of much of its polemical point if her body had not been changed once already by Lovelace—changed, in society's view, permanently for the worse.

Eagleton's reading of *Clarissa* does not depend on any misapprehension that Richardson was consciously a radical. He insists, rightly, that most of what is known of Richardson the man proves his pious and safe intentions. While not quite endorsing Coteridge's description, Eagleton quotes it on his opening page with obvious satisfaction: "His mind is so very vile a mind, so oozy, so hypocritical, praise-mad, canting, envious, concupiscent." And yet the novel as it stands, apparently has an emphatic, polemical, public, radical point to make—a point reinforced when Richardson's ending is compared with

Echlin's, in which *Clarissa* dies quickly and privately. Most modern critics have (presumably unknowingly) taken the Echlin line, and judged *Clarissa* as a postscript to the novel. Eagleton approves of Richardson's version, on the grounds that *Clarissa*'s dying speeches and the writings she leaves—the novel itself—ought to make an impact, since they are her way of calling her body and soul her own.

Even admirers of the novel, and there are more of these than Eagleton seems to think, have seldom taken so sympathetic a view of its two cruces. But if Eagleton is serious he is anything but solemn, and he has a funny sequence at the expense of most modern treatments of the rape. It is a curious fact, as he points out, that the more avowedly liberal the critics are, the more they have inclined to sympathize with the rapist. *Clarissa*'s defence of her chastity has been seen as symptomatic of Richardson's stuffiness, mocking both is a way of bringing the hook up to date. Thus *Clarissa* becomes a neurotic prude. Under the skin she is not so much Lovelace's victim or antagonist as his kindred spirit. For V. S. Pritchett her sexuality is like Lovelace's, "really

violent, insatiable in its wish for destruction". Dorothy van Ghent allows her less sexual initiative, but is equally convinced that she seeks for what she gets: her "erotically tinged debility... offers, masochistically, a ripe temptation to violence", and the death which follows is "a common orgy".

The most recent of these hardboiled progressives is William Beaty Warner, whose book *Reading Clarissa* in effect represents Lovelace as the hero. "By winning our laughter and giving us pleasure", says Warner approvingly, "Lovelace helps to undo the matrix of truth and value through which *Clarissa* would have us see, know and judge." But it is a curiously arid literary fashion, observes Eagleton, that sees the rapist as "a Derridean jester misunderstood", and leaves the matter there.

Lovelace, whom Warner finds "charming", moves towards the rape "with an inexorable necessity": what else can the poor fellow do if he is out to deconstruct her? His descriptive enticing of *Clarissa* from her home is just "Lovelace's joke"; the violence of his rape is less "insidious" than the "will to power" which compels *Clarissa* herself to write her story.

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enormous as she is of old-style ontological claptrap like truth, meaning, narrative and causality. Lovelace's "shortcomings", Warner writes, "are not held against him by the lover of comedy": Clarissa presumably couldn't take a joke, although Warner does generously acknowledge that "something, genuinely arresting" happened to her when she was drugged and raped, and informs us that, having been raped, she "feels used". It is not, however, that she has been used by a sexual oppressor, but by "Lovelace's fictional machinery".

The combative tone is typical, for Eggleston has moved into the eighteenth century, new terrain for him, in what is evidently a spirit of mischief. While entirely lacking, he says, "what would appear to be one of the chief credentials for discussing the eighteenth century, namely a nostalgic urge to return to it", he has noticed that certain new critical departures could give *Clarissa* currency with modern-minded readers. *The Rape of Clarissa*, made up of one substantial essay on *Clarissa* and two shorter ones which treat *Rasselas* and *Grandison*, synthesizes three different methods of reading, post-structuralist theories of textuality, a psychoanalytical formalism, and an updated historical materialism. "The eighteenth century", he remarks in a preface which gives fair warning, "has long been the preserve of literary conservatism, rarely penetrated by

Marxist criticism, and one purpose of my book is accordingly to appropriate a little of this patch.

As a Fellow of Wadham College, Oxford, Eggleston the post-structuralist, feminist and Marxist seems at first glance unrepresentative of that often rather conservative English Faculty. Very Oxford, however, and presumably a matter of some suspicion in more traditional Marxist circles, is a stylishness which makes him highly enjoyable to read. Eggleston's fondness for epigram sometimes resembles that of his colleague at Christ Church, Peter Conrad, though ideologically the two are poles apart. When he wants to observe that it does not help women to idealize them, Eggleston says, "For the eighteenth-century woman... the idealist is never very far from the pit." Like Conrad, he maintains a witty strain of sexual innuendo, overt and covert. "The printer [Richardson] remains master, cooly leading his readers up the garden path only to regroup them submissively round him in the grotto." But Conrad generally sounds as though the object of his jests is to make you admire him, while Eggleston, less self-regarding, jokes to unsettle cherished notions. "*Clarissa*, like another, rather more influential text of Western history, is the testimony left to a dead, consecrated body."

Eggleston casts himself as a talented amateur, a posture which can seem

maddening. His polemical tone will turn away some readers; his eclecticism will alienate others. To reconcile three methodologies is in any case not easy, and the tone of the book can seem inconsistent, indignantly Orwellian on *Clarissa*'s sufferings but playfully Deridean on Lovelace's fantasies. Finally, though a historical materialist should not seem perfunctory about history, Eggleston on the eighteenth century does little more than indicate that the class war was going through one of its discouraging phases. He is very impressive about contemporary culture, and particularly about other novels, though it is important to know whether *Clarissa*, read as a feminist statement, is really as untypical as he seems to imply. His sketch of society and its marriage customs reads, perhaps unfairly, as if it relies on Christopher Hill's essay, "*Clarissa* Harlowe and her Times", and on Lawrence Stone's *The Family, Sex and Marriage*, which must latterly have overladen E. P. Thompson's *The Making of the English Working Class* as the book by a historian most cited by students of literature.

By contrast, and for some as a relief, Jerry Beasley in *Novels of the 1740s* writes as a fully professional eighteenth-century scholar. His project is to do for his important decade what Kathleen Tillotson did for hers in the much-admired *Novels of the 1840s* (1954). Already the author of two bibliographies relating to eighteenth-century fiction, Beasley has

the scholarly credentials that Eggleston lacks, and his book throws out the kind of hard information for which there is no substitute. He opens a discussion of certain tales of low life with the satisfying nugget, "In the 1740s the pseudobiographies dealing explicitly with the exploits of robbers, swindlers, rapists, murderers, whores and other rogues totaled nearly three dozen, or better than one-tenth of all the fiction published in the decade." Beasley has written before on Smollett, and he does so effectively here, in what is probably his best chapter. Like most American critics, he rates Richardson below Fielding, and he fairly accounts for the difference in taste by observing that Fielding, who is not a naturalist, is consistently under-rated by critics (often British) whose method is based on naturalistic criteria, like Henry James, Percy Lubbock, F. R. and Q. D. Leavis and Ian Watt.

As a survey Beasley's book is judicious, but as a performance it is not a patch on Eggleston's. One criterion of Henry James's for the novel does for any book: they divide into those which have life and those which have it not. Mostly Beasley positions himself at a distance from the novels themselves, viewing them circumspectly through the eyes of twentieth-century academics. These are almost all of a traditional persuasion: Beasley says civilly that he has learnt from formalist criticism, but if this is so it is not evident. He firmly states his preference, at the outset, for placing

books within their own historical context. Yet when he deals with Smollett, that great reporter on his society in all its squalor and wretchedness, Beasley preaches to the choir by writing reassuringly of the "moral balance" Smollett means to display.

In general, Beasley finds the fiction of the decade singularly uninteresting, even though it coincides with the work of Hume; current theological debates, he adds, are too sophisticated to be reflected in fiction. It is Eggleston of the two, who sees the philosophical relevance of the novel's narrative strategies, the reflection of social issues in its personal dramas, the paradox that a great work of literature can both uphold orthodoxies and subvert them.

Beasley in fact bears out Eggleston's charge against much academic writing about the eighteenth century, that it can represent the literature of the time as more uniform, more proper, more spinless and more timeless than the actual literature ought to be. Flatteringly, to paraphrase the received academic view of them is worse. Beasley's book is clearly designed as a reliable account to put into the hands of students - but a high price can be paid for asking them to think widely, like driving the intelligent car elsewhere. Eggleston defies his colleagues to think kindly of him, but he has done them as good a service.

FICTION

Among the muckers

Ian Hamilton

DAN DAYIN (Editor)

Short Stories from the Second World War
239pp. Oxford University Press.
£3.95.
0 19 212973 2

"Horizon will always publish stories of pure realism, but we take the line that experiences connected with the blitz, the shopping queues, the home front, deserted wives, deceived husbands, broken homes, dull jobs, bad schools, group squabbles, are so much a part of our ordinary lives that unless the workmanship is outstanding we are against them." So Cyril Connolly wrote in 1944, and his words must have dampened a few war-time literary hopes. Imagine yourself stuck in some billet in East Anglia or Burma, abashed with creativity, choked with the rawest of raw subject matter, only to be told by the top man in London that he really doesn't want to know about how your semi got gutted back in '40, nor about how your wife has just been interfered with by a pacifist. Not only this, but even your more generalized material is suddenly declared to be way out of bounds: the drab routines of Army life, the alienation of the left-wing sensitive suddenly brought into the contact with the sturdy prole, the dilemma of the humanitarian anti-fascist who believes the war is just but can't stomach military violence. And as for the old Thirties "clinical" routine, the icy eye of the Mass Observer, the camera within the

camaraderie... even this, the most reliable of stand-bys, must now it seems be ditched.

Not easy for a new boy, then, in 1944. However, as Dan Davin's anthology makes clear, a fair amount of the above type of "war-writing" had already been achieved before Connolly's outbreak of *enfin* - indeed, it was probably the sheer volume of available slice-of-life, non-fiction fiction that had driven Horizon's editor to beg for a respite. Missing from all those decent, genuinely suffered letters home was, quite simply, the flicker of an individual talent - only rarely did Connolly get the feeling that this or that writer would function at all interestingly in times of peace.

Dan Davin's selection offers, probably the best work of the period - certainly, I can't think of a war-time story which should not have been left out - and for the most part it makes for dutiful reading. As reportage, almost every piece has some period interest; as fiction, though, only five of these twenty-four stories would, it seems to me, find a place in a "non-period" anthology of modern writing: two by Davin himself, two by Alun Lewis, and one by Kingsley Amis. There is an eerie little item by Graham Greene about propaganda ministries, and a sentimental blitz-split fragment by V. S. Pritchett - each of these, I feel sure their authors would agree, are fairly bottom-drawer. "Flying Officer X" (H. E. Bates) is represented, and for the sake of his datedness has almost total charm; not everyone, though, will thrill to lines such as: "You can't believe how bloody wizard it is. You can't know what it is like to see the

leaves so green on the trees..."

There are lots of "wizards" and lots of "prangs" throughout the book, and there is far too much straining for the authentic rhythms of working-class speech. Lofty and Chalky and Nobby can be heard speaking of "the mucking Army" and a typical dialogue goes like this: "Goodnight you muckers", "Goodnight mucker". All Other Ranks (with the exception of Alun Lewis's thoroughly Welsh Welshmen) are either Cockney or unplaceably "rural" and they are invariably simple in both heart and mind.

Ay, he were a queer chap. I reckon he'd done himself in all right. He were just the kind of chap to do himself in. Queer bloke. There's something wrong with a chap what gets like that.

Nearly all of these short stories are extremely short (this by Davin's editorial decision; he wanted to be "representative"), and as a result very few of them have the time or space to develop much in the way of plot. Where there is narrative manipulation it tends to be cursory and feeble: to quote the Italian POW will eventually charm his way into the flinty hearts of his grim Scots custodians; naturally, that bullying officer will turn out to be a coward, and so on. The general effort throughout, though, is near documentary. Most of these are very different writers simply wanted to tell what might not otherwise be known. And in the case of the half dozen or so active-service yarns it is hard to think that even Cyril Connolly would have been able to say that they had taught him nothing.

Glossing the Bard

David Nokes

GILES GORDON (Editor)

Shakespeare Stories
239pp. Hamish Hamilton. £7.95.
0 241 10879 9

"I am not only witty in myself, but the cause that wit is in other men", boasted Falstaff, a claim happily justified a few years ago by Robert Nye. Not Falstaff alone, but troupes of Shakespearean characters have enjoyed reincarnation in adaptations, imitations, parodies and tales. Shakespeare permeates all subsequent English literature; nevertheless there is something faintly nostalgic about a volume so explicitly conceived as a series of literary homages as this collection of *Shakespeare Stories*. It seems to recall the bardolatry of a more innocent age: we are back in the world of Lamb's *Tales from Shakespeare* and Mary Cowden-Clarke's *The Girlhood of Shakespeare's Heroines*. Indeed the first story, by Paul Ableman, gives us the adolescence of Cordelia and Edgar, a tale of young love that closes with lines of leaden foreboding: "I thought the King had more affected the Duke of Albany than Cornwall."

Other stories fill out those little gaps in the lives of our old favorites that suggest themselves. That Shakespeare neglected to supply Kingsley Amis conflates Shakespeare's Macbeth with the historical king of Scotland in order to present him at the papal court in 1054. Fred Ughart gives us a worm's eye view of Macbeth's court as related

by that shadowy character the Third Murderer, who turns out to be not only Macbeth's bastard son, but also his incestuous bed-fellow. For Geoffrey Smith the story of *The Merchant of Venice* becomes a series of juicy anecdotes in a garrulous letter home from Shylock's wife to her sister Sarah. The main problem with this "Rosencrantz and Guildenstern" formula is the difficulty of harmonizing the minor key of these back-stage narratives with the muffled booming of Shakespeare's major themes in the distance. There is a modern knowingsness in their off-hand, confidential idioms that suggests parody more than fascination. Nowhere is this more apparent than in Angela Carter's "Overture and Incidental Music for *A Midsummer Night's Dream*" in which the little Indian boy is served up like a salsiccia curry of oriental spices. Whenever Shakespeare's lines are quoted they are quickly qualified by revisionist glosses added like moustaches on the Mona Lisa:

"She never had so sweet a chancing; And jealous Oberon would have the child! Misinformation. The patriarchal version. It was all between my mother and my nuntie, wasn't it, all."

The other favoured formula for these stories is the modern-dress version. Iain Crichton Smith turns *Hamlet* into the case history of a problem family in which the son who used to be good at English has gone sulky and taken to hanging around snooker halls. We are spared the melodrama of a pile of corpses behind the laundromat, however, and the story ends with a reconciliation scene to gladden the hearts of social workers everywhere. No such happy escape, though, for Ossie Bellow. Allan Massie's latter-day Othello, Ossie is a negro heavyweight, "a big black bugger" who inhabits a seedy post-war world of London pubs and gyms accompanied by his upper-class hint, Desi Lawrence. Their deaths in a Brighton hotel make tragic headlines in the Sunday papers, and even the ranks of Fleet Street hacks can scarce forbear a tear. Bridget Brophy updates the English lesson from *Henry V* into a vignette on the callowness and callousness of young lust, filtered through the pidgin idioms of English as a Foreign Language. Paul Bailey gives us a South London Sycamore who conceives her Caliban in a divine kneel-tremble up against a Deptford alley wall.

The most successful stories here are those which free themselves of Shakespearean echoes and develop their own melodies. Salman Rushdie's Yorick owes more to Sterne than to Shakespeare; William Boyd finds Arcadin in the rituals and romances of an Officer's Mess; Francis King's Nym is a Beckettian relic; Robert Nye turns the second-byone into the setting for a first-class floor-show; Elspeth Davie and Emma Tennant use the language of flowers to recreate the sufferings of Hermione and Ophelia.

The complete Diary of Beatrix Webb



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Chadwyck-Healey Ltd
Telephone 0223 69333

Surviving the Janeites

Pat Rogers

DAVID GILSON

A Bibliography of Jane Austen
877pp. Clarendon Press: Oxford
University Press. £50.
0 19 818173 6

In 1929 Geoffrey Keynes brought out his *Nonesuch* bibliography of Jane Austen, since then the standard reference work. It would be an illusion to suppose that our bibliographic parents lived in a state of innocence - the "Fifty years on" column in the *TLS* does not suggest uniform progress in literary studies. All the same, Keynes was working on a far smaller scale. To say, as the blurb does, that the new Soho bibliography by David Gilson is "a modestly understated new work" is a bit like saying that the new *Complete Works of Shakespeare* is a "modestly understated new work". This is a factor not just of its own skills and industry, but also of the totally new climate in Jane Austen studies. Actually, it's not self-evident that Jane Austen studies as such existed in 1929.

To measure the gap between the two books, one has to start with raw figures. The nine sections of Keynes appear in more or less the same form (though not the same order), with the addition of three fresh sections in Gilson. If anything, the disparity is least marked in the first part, devoted to original editions - although even here, as will emerge, there are important extensions to the coverage. Then come early American editions, on which Gilson has already made himself an acknowledged expert. Keynes's section on "French translations (augmented by a single Spanish item)" is expanded out of recognition; it has become a sort of Compendium checklist. Gilson then inserts a new division, the Bentley Standard Novels issues from the 1830s onwards. Next comes "Later editions and selections", combining the collected and separate publications which were treated individually by Keynes. "Miscellaneous works" corresponds to the earlier "Miscellaneous Writings", a change in title which conceals a radically different awareness of this part of the canon. Then follow letters, dramatizations (a new section), continuations and completions (also new); books owned by Jane Austen; a miscellaneous segment; and finally a hugely augmented listing of biographic and critical studies.

Each area displays far greater density in coverage, and it will be enough to illustrate this point from selected cases. Keynes included 120 separate reprints; Gilson's expanded section runs to 425 items. In the 1929 volume five books from Jane

Austen's library had come to light: Gilson is able to provide details of nineteen. Where Keynes had only a few scraps of "miscellaneous writing" to piece together, his successor has a substantial body of minor works to describe. It is worth recalling that in 1929 the full text of *Sanditon* had only just appeared for the first time. Neither *Volume the First* nor *Volume the Third* had seen the light, whilst their companion among the manuscript miscellanies had been published only in the mutilated form of *Love and Friendship*. The key figure in the rediscovery of these parerga was R. W. Chapman, whose contribution to Jane Austen studies shines out in almost every section of the new bibliography. Until Chapman had performed his task, culminating in the volume of *Minor Works* for the Oxford collected edition (1954), there was only small beer for Keynes or anyone else to chronicle. The cut-off date in Gilson is set around 1978, and so there is no place for the little drama made out of *St. Charles Grandison*; however, the discovery of the manuscript is recorded under 1817, together with the traditional (but, as I think, increasingly implausible) ascription of the play to Jane's niece Anna Lefroy.

Inevitably, it is the final section, of secondary material, which has burgeoned most abundantly. Keynes listed fewer than 200 books and articles; Gilson has cope with more than 1,800. It is true that his threshold of relevance is set rather low, he claims to have omitted some items recorded in the annual bibliographies, but he has let in many references which are not much more than a bare mention (this is in part a Jane Austen Allusions collection), and he has allowed house-room to encyclopedia entries. But obviously the main cause of this bloated section, which takes up more than 250 pages, is the hypertrophy in Jane Austen studies - some would say the over-capacity in today's scholarly industry.

And yes, it is easy enough to make sport of some items, or to deplore the redundancies (repeated "finds" of the Northanger novel, for instance), or to cast doubt on the usefulness of it all. According to Julia Margaret Cameron, "there were no letters preserved either of Shakespeare's or of Jane Austen's"; that they had not been ripped open like pigs. Even a sympathetic observer would have to admit that the twentieth century has done its share of ripping open Jane; her bodies have been unclipped, her blood triumphantly revealed. A writer in *Alpha* has explored "the sexual world of Jane Austen"; well, she may be right. Some of the more academic topics are given a run-out, conceivably a Romanish essay on

"Stilul indirect liber in romanul *Emma*" would prove to throw more light on the text than this blunt critical instrument generally does - if only one could read the Romanian properly. Again, perhaps the item listed as "Sir Walter Elliot y los espejos: simetria y contrapunto en la tipificación realista de Jane Austen" will yield more than one suspects. There is a good deal of kitch around: sentimentalized biographies, articles in *Parers* Weekly called "Jane Austen lived here", pious tributes ("Hampshire's Jane was born two hundred years ago"), apparently footling notes ("Oriel friends of Jane Austen"). But it all testifies to the living strength of the novels: the writers we choose to rip open are at least those we read. It is heartening rather than otherwise to learn that Jane has penetrated to the A.M. Cork University of Perm (Molotov as was) has been writing on her moral art.

The most interesting sections of the bibliography, in the last analysis, lie elsewhere. First of all, there is the beautifully full description of the early editions. These contain all the information anyone is ever likely to need. Gilson says that his model was that recommended in Philip Gaskell's *New Introduction to bibliography*; this does not result in anything especially noteworthy in such matters as the collation or contents, but it is performed with impressive thoroughness. One major advance over Keynes lies in the substitution of facsimile title-pages for quasi-facsimile transcription. As a matter of fact, Gaskell spends quite a lot of his chapter on bibliographical description in guiding the reader in the mechanics of this way of transcribing a title. Those of us who feel cheated by the labour-saving devices of modern technology, there seems to be something missing when the "Sense and Sensibility (swelling rule)" and the rest of it, to truth, facsimiles are easier to understand and notes in confusion. The technical details of the type-faces by Nicolas Barker, who can differentiate between varieties of Caillon pica roman from the specimen books; the details are astonishingly precise with regard to English, American and French fonts, and only Scandinavian typography. It might be added that in the later sections more sparingly given, with good reason: type-faces are occasionally recorded, e.g. the Penguin English Library version set in Linotype.

Juliana, but not the character of the old Eversham setting, or the pleasant Elphard used in recent Oxford editions.

The wealth of ancillary material includes printing costs where known; "publishing history", which actually stretches to the history of composition; the sale of copyright; association copies; saleroom records; and provenance of the copies described. More daringly, the description even extends to reviews and contemporary comments. Perhaps a bibliographer is venturing *ultra crepidam* when it comes to charting the critical heritage under each early edition of the six novels: on the other hand, the results are totally fascinating. One finds, for example, *Mansfield Park* thus endorsed in June 1814 (the source is private correspondence, as in many of the comments): "It is not much of a novel, more the history of a family party in the country." A Mrs. Poles thought Jane Austen's books were "so... evidently written by a Gentlewoman", a critic from Jena in 1816 declared, "Sie ist eine glückliche Beobachterin der stillen häuslichen Familienleben, dessen Zeichnung ihr gelingt" ("I'm not so sure about the 'still'"). Maria Edgeworth calls *Northanger Abbey* and *Persuasion* "milk and water"; in 1832 the American press terms the novels "beyond comparison, preferable to such immoral rhapsodies as *Vivian Grey* and *Contarini*, and the *Sensibility* owes its resonance to accidental semantic spilling". In English, not exactly parallel anywhere else. One strong French answer, actually in a Swiss edition, to supply the Pausanian version *Le roman et la raison*. This is taken a step further in the Portuguese equivalent, *Relevo de coraço*. Among many sparkling transpositions of *Pride and Prejudice* (most of which I don't understand), there is a particularly trim version in Kannada entitled *Hannu-hinnu*. But the most satisfying antidote, combining alliteration and historical charge, is surely the Polish re-mould of sense and sensibility as *Rozmowa i romanycyna*. That must have got the book right.

Among the scanty obituaries which Jane received, few lines stand out in the *Monthly Magazine* for August 1817: "Provincial occupation. Hampshire. Died. At Winchester, Miss Jane Austen, daughter of the Rev. Geo. Austen, rector of Steventon, and authoress of *Emma*, *Mansfield Park*, *Pride and Prejudice*, and *Sense and Sensibility*." The death of the authoress may have been no more than a provincial occurrence, but the books live on, and their appeal is even now extending. What the bibliography shows, in its rich, clear organization and fastidious care for detail, is that Jane can survive the Janeites. Even the most rabid of doctrinal candidates, aiming their death-dealing abstracts, will not overcome her. There one remains, the many change and pass.

known in Western Europe (occasional references by Philiberte Chads, Amiel, Valéry, Labaud and others), and a cipher over the parts of the globe. It would take a deeply engrained cynicism to harbor any doubt that this process has truly increased the public stock of human pleasure.

Of course, one can never be sure that the foreigners are getting our Jane Austen. Perhaps they should, anyway. What that bibliography enables one to do is to make a list of impressions, guesses, on the basis of titles mostly. Some nations seem especially prone to interpreting or editorializing the work. Among the Portuguese items, *Fantasia de Em* will be all right, but I am not so sure about *Persuasion* under the guise of *Sangue azul*, which makes it sound like the work of some cousin to Blaise Ibáñez. You can have, incidentally, either *O mosteiro de Noronha* or *O mosteiro de Noronha*. I think the former bodes more happily. (A Dutch version entitled *Heldin op het belem* to the world of straight, ladylike screamingly urgent, Gothic.)

A revealing detail is the way in which translators cope with the two symmetrical titles. *Sense and Sensibility* owes its resonance to accidental semantic spilling: in English, not exactly parallel anywhere else. One strong French answer, actually in a Swiss edition, to supply the Pausanian version *Le roman et la raison*. This is taken a step further in the Portuguese equivalent, *Relevo de coraço*. Among many sparkling transpositions of *Pride and Prejudice* (most of which I don't understand), there is a particularly trim version in Kannada entitled *Hannu-hinnu*. But the most satisfying antidote, combining alliteration and historical charge, is surely the Polish re-mould of sense and sensibility as *Rozmowa i romanycyna*. That must have got the book right.

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The good shoemaker Schweik

Alan Bold

ROY A. K. HEATH

Kwaku: The man who could not keep his mouth shut
254pp. Allison and Busby. £7.95.
0 85031 470 5

The erratic behaviour and endearingly absurd character of Roy Heath's hero Kwaku make him a Soldier Schweik in Kwaku street, Guyana. Kwaku begins his life as a Guyanese village idiot and is perfect in the part. The art of fiction presents him with a series of challenges that allow him to rise above village idiocy into urban audacity. Kwaku is always resourceful. "A quick look round at his fellow men convinced him that there was much protection in Kwoy, and that intelligence was like the plump palm, bearer of good fruit,

but afflicted with thorns. So he fell back into a state of idiosyncrasy." Like Schweik, Kwaku seems destined for a life in uniform, for Blossom, the village bookworm, finds work with the Public Transport in New Amsterdam and promises to use her influence to get Kwaku a job as a bus driver. He, however, sees his future in more exalted terms, for even then Kwaku believed in his superiority over other men... No, he could not end his days at the wheel of a bus, the hero of small boys.

No indeed; Kwaku has a dream, and Heath delights in showing the contrast between that dream and the reality that descends on him. For example, Kwaku's dream involves his possession of a wonderful wife, a woman who will give him a sense of responsibility as well as a feeling of masculine pride. "She got to be tall," Kwaku tells his uncle, "but not too tall... She mustn't get vexed if I come

home drunk, but she herself mustn't drink. She must know how to spell good, but she mustn't spend too much time reading... She mustn't have a flat chest or a huge belly, like Blossom. Blossom man-friend always falling out bed cause she batty, does stab him every time it turns. What Kwaku gets is Miss Gwendoline, who is fertile enough to provide him with eight children but who despairs of Kwaku's great expectations and copes with misfortune by turning to the bottle.

To keep body, soul and Miss Gwendoline together Kwaku sets up as the apprentice shoemaker of the village, though he is constantly searching for more rewarding work. When village life exhausts him with its endless trivialities he is not entirely defeated, for he recalls that he is a man of destiny "expected to carry out some mission he had forgotten." What this mission amounts to is uncertain, though Kwaku comes inexorably to the

conclusion that he must seek his fortune outside the village.

Kwaku leaves for New Amsterdam because he is sure, from the gossip he has heard, that the town is made for him. He is not conspicuously successful at finding fame as a photographer, but is fortunate in ingratiating himself with an old shoemaker who takes him to Winkle, a quarter of New Amsterdam once celebrated for its blacksmith shops. "And," says Heath, "that is how Kwaku Cholmondeley, shoemaker from C. village, inveterate liar, would be photographer, near bigamist and father of eight children, came back to the old but despised occupation of shoemaking, of making leather-wear for other people's feet." In Winkle, however, Kwaku develops a skill for selling folk-medicinal cures to hypochondriacs. As a result he is suddenly wealthy and respected for the first time in his life.

Kwaku's new position gives him self-confidence in addition to his already strong sense of his innate worth. He is insistent on proper financial and social recognition of his gifts, and is quick to advertise his expertise. At the peak of his success and celebrity Kwaku returns in triumph to the village, only to find his world beginning to disintegrate. Miss Gwendoline is afflicted by an illness that Kwaku cannot cure; to make things worse, a new teacher moves into New Amsterdam to deprive him of his monopoly of the trade in human credulity. From his hilarious beginnings, then, the book moves towards a poignant close showing Kwaku and Miss Gwendoline depending solely on each other. Roy Heath puts all his considerable skills - of narration, characterization and description - on display in a book that conveys its comic vision with wisdom as well as wit.

To complete the selection of Vera Brittain's work currently available, Virago has released two of her novels, *Account Rendered* (first published in 1945; 334pp. £3.50. 0 86068 268 4) and *Born 1925* (first published in 1948; 379pp. £3.50. 0 86068 270 6). The first, conceived as a contribution to the pacifist literature, deals with the suffering of Francis Heide, subject to blackouts as a consequence of his experience at Arras in 1918, and forced to stand trial for the murder of his cherished wife Sally in 1940. If the

book is unsatisfactory - pedestrian, overwritten, cumbersome - as fiction, the reformist impulse behind it is unimpeachable. The second novel also takes as its theme the psychological warring caused by war. Its hero (born 1925) is the son of a man whose experiences in the trenches have turned him into a pacifist. With the narrative encompasses both World Wars, and examines different kinds of heroism (too, however, suffers from a certain heaviness of style).

Patricia Craig

MICHAEL KORDA

Worldly Goods

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NINA BAWDEN, *Daily Telegraph*
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RICHARD OLLARD

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216pp. Collins. £9.95.
0 00 216495 7

Of making many books about Eton there is no end. L. V. Harcourt's *Bibliography* at the turn of the century already extended to over a hundred pages; and the relevant shelves of a local second-hand bookshop, as this written, contain more than thirty items. It may conveniently be observed here that Richard Ollard's own bibliography, deliberately very selective, mentions only fifty or so works, rather surprisingly omitting Christopher Hollis's *Eton - A History*, 1960. An *English Education* has its origin in the lack of a book about Eton between the two World Wars; and Ollard firmly avers that "There is no understanding England of the twenties and thirties without understanding Eton", a proposition which will be interpreted variously according to the viewpoint of the reader. Whether such a book is needed, time and sales will tell; but, to be fair, the evidence of publishing history is on Ollard's side.

Since Eton College was founded in 1440, however, there are nearly five hundred years to cover, before the target area is reached. Ollard's coverage of the early period is naturally fairly cursory, and, for more detail, Maxwell Lyte's admirable *History* (fourth edition, 1911) remains indispensable. Surely the most astonishing — to us — episode in the school's early history concerns Nicholas Udall, Headmaster from 1534 to 1543, and author of *Ralph Roister Doister*, who was not only implicated, with two of his pupils, in the theft of silver plate from the school, but also accused of homosexual activities with them — at a time when the death penalty could, in certain circumstances, be invoked. The Privy Council cleared Udall of the theft, but he was committed to prison on the other charges. The story does not end there: Udall not only secured his arrears of pay from Eton, but also — despite a curriculum vitae which must by now have horrified any ancient equivalent of Gabbites and Thins — later became Headmaster of Westminster. Eton itself was arguably fortunate to escape suppression by Henry VIII, though Ollard does not say so. *Audax tempus, audax mores*, indeed.

The pace of Ollard's narrative livens as he reaches the Victorian era, when his own interest, we may suspect, becomes more deeply engaged. It was at this time that Eton began to develop those political connections which have been, ever since, so remarkable a feature of England's political life; of many sets of impressive statistics which it would be possible to cite, the fact that between 1721 and 1927 Eton provided sixteen out of thirty-nine Prime Ministers is as remarkable as any — and, if memory serves, there have been three more since then. As to precisely how this happened, is there any great mystery? Eton is, and always has been, a relatively large school; add its architecture, its early royal and aristocratic links, its generous endowment and, above all, the way that success breeds success, and there you have, at least, a promising recipe. But just as it is, a promising recipe, men, that make a ship and walls, but Ollard tells us again, the relatively familiar stories of those remarkable Headmasters Keate and Warner (as his account is, after all, of Eton, he does not think to remind us of at least equally remarkable men elsewhere — at Harrow, Butler and Kennedy who reached Shrewsbury from near-interestingly, and much more interestingly, of William Johnson Cory. It is likely that many of those who read this book — even Old Etonians — will know relatively little about this gifted schoolmaster; yet Ollard's book is worth reading for this chapter alone; it was Eton's grievous loss when he was dismissed, presumably, on homosexual grounds.

in 1872. Incidentally, the whole topic of schoolboy homosexuality (named "Eton disease" at my own school) is dealt with by Ollard in a fashion at once understanding and perceptive.

Eton's recent literary and intellectual distinctions are as remarkable as her political ones: Aldous Huxley, Maynard Keynes, Cyril Connolly, John Lehmann, the Sitwells, the Flemings, Robert Byron, A. S. F. Gow, A. J. Ayer, Anthony Powell, "Henry Green", "George Orwell", Roger Myrns, Patrick Shaw-Stewart, Ronald Knox, Maurice Baring — the list seems as endless as it is impressive, and, while Ollard is very far from ignoring it, it would have been interesting to hear even more of his views on the relationship between this efflorescence of talented men and the teaching they received or intellectual ambience in which they lived; though Connolly (especially), Powell, Orwell and Green are indeed called in evidence or question over various aspects of Eton life. This, again, will be familiar to many readers; and Ollard's new evidence (notably unpublished material by A. C. Benson, Cyril Alington and B. J. W. Hill) is interesting rather than truly illuminating. Ollard keeps tactfully quiet about what seem to have been the extremely poor relations between Claude Eliott and his Provost, Lord Quickswood (Hugh Cecil) — who appears as a most unappealing figure — whereas his account of M. R. James as Provost and Cyril Alington as Headmaster provided, for this reviewer, some of the most sympathetic and engrossing pages in the book.

A few financial and other details call for comment: when Oscar Browning was dismissed in 1875, he had a huge annual disposable income of £3,000 from his House — perhaps worth £70,000 in today's money. The starting salary of a master in 1937 was £420 pa (probably £8,000 now). The stipend provisionally offered to A. C. Benson in 1905 was £4,750 pa (plus house, allowances and perquisites), or well over £100,000 at today's values. On the other matters, Ollard, K.S., should have noticed a number of misprints and/or misspellings (including "Ribentrop", "Ripentrop"; I do not think that Bertie Wooster made a habit of wearing OE spats; and whatever may appear in *Under Two Flags*, the *locus classicus* for "all rowed fast, but none so fast as stroke" is the chapter entitled "The Eight" in *Sandford and Merton* by "Belinda Blinders" (D. F. T. Coké); see first edition, p89. Finally, not all readers of *Musae Etonenses* would be willing to cede to Eton the first place in the composition of Latin verses.

Ollard deals fairly but firmly with the numerous Eton memoirs and, in general, this book is to be welcomed for a cooler approach to the school, and a more balanced appraisal of its strengths and weaknesses, than is sometimes seen. For example, Hugh Macgibbon's *Fifty Years of Eton* is "embarrassingly dismissed" as "more kindly, it could, I suppose, be described as a prolonged hymn of praise and adoration to the beloved object. And, when all is said and done, even if Ollard has not revealed 'the secret non-discover', nor given us as many surprises as the blurb promises, he has assuredly produced a lively and readable account of what took place, especially in the century which ended in 1939, at an establishment which, by its consistent encouragement of individual talent, however manifested, has fairly earned the label which Cory gave it: the best of schools.

The newly published *A Dictionary of Education* (284pp. Routledge and Kegan Paul; £15; 0 7100 0871 6) aims, as the editor, P. J. Hills, explains in the introduction, to explore the subject of education in one volume by conceptual accounts of the main areas of education, by interlinked entries, and, fifteen brief, essays occupy the first sixty-eight pages of the book; they include considerations of Comparative Education by Raymond Jackson, and the Sociology of Education by John S. Hart. Eight Fleming; while the remainder of the volume is devoted to an alphabetically ordered list of headwords.



Whose photograph of whom? (See page 1247, column 3.)

Lessons for life

Andrew Hislop

ARTHUR MARSHALL

Whimper in the Rhododendrons: The Splendours and Miseries of the English Prep School
174pp. Collins. £6.95.
0 00 216647 X

"Now that his writing has improved, we have been able to discover how little he knows" — the choice conclusion of a boy's report unearthed (or written passing improvement) by Arthur Marshall for this volume of his own and others' reminiscences of that quaint, farcical barbarity — the preparatory school. The persistence of this institution, despite brief fashionable flirtations by the British upper classes with the tediums of sexual normalcy and with that old chestnut about concern for the welfare of children, and despite the surprising failure of prisons and asylums to recruit suitable cases for treatment who are entrusted with the plummery of the nation's troubles, is only partly due to the little that our major minors know about what is really happening to them. It is doubtful, though, that if the young pyramidal Marshall knew then what he knows now, as he was made to kneel facing the wall, he would still have listened to his lonely headmaster's symphony of "world, soft sounds, a mixture of accelerated breathing and clothing moving and the chair creaking" without looking to see what precisely was the nature of his "punishment". And if he had penned this trial by exhalation which he has typed for us, the board of governors of his school might well have forced their appointee to explain why his corrective technique departed from the more conventionally tactile, if less aerobic, practice of flogging.

The cryptic and confusing style (void of Marshall's expressive use of detail) of the boys who did complain to their parents about school may also have prevented much needed investigation. The recipients of "Dear Mummy and Daddy, Nothing good about this school. On Tuesday Action Man went for a walk and hunched the boys, love from Pippin" were no doubt uncertain what exactly caused their sustained disapproval. But what has abused (the privilege of abusing is granted more to public-schoolboys), is not so much insufficiently articulate criticism as a conspiracy of silence between parents and children about what happens at school. "Boys never tell their parents the truth about their school life", wrote Maurice Baring over sixty years ago in a pertinent passage quoted by Marshall. The extent of such concealment can have extreme consequences. A colleague of mine who repeatedly feigned stomach

pains to seek refuge in his prep school's sanatorium from a bulimic act of Churchillian stature — his healthy appendix removed more than reveal that what really distressed him was his tormentor's inclination to sit on him while playing the violin. Parents, however, rarely try to tell their sons reveal all about their lives. They prefer to assume that for the best, even if they do not know exactly what it is, and, as they correctly noted, "forever come themselves... with the thought that schools are so much better now than they were". This hypocritical, yet assumption has comforted me ever since my parents paid for their children to undergo the iniquities of boarding education.

Of course, things do change for the better. My prep school, in which mortification of the flesh seldom went beyond minor grievous bodily harm and whose odd paedophile class never strayed beyond the pale of its own inner torments and (illusions) its own abolished corporal punishment, prompted, I am told, by the night (after he had left) of the most regular thrashed of my contemporaries. In our society's tolerance of these cruel against children (Marshall quotes a description of a whole class being forced to hold hands while a master passed a strong electric cord through the ensemble) has been made easier because the scandals have often been cloaked in such eccentricity. And it is this gap, rather than social politeness, which *Whimper in the Rhododendrons* delights in.

Arthur Marshall is a warm, lively understanding being. He is very aware of the horrors of such schools and seems himself to have gained in pleasure from being obliged to write *alma mater* with a three-inch length of rubber. (Indeed, no keen cricketer or footballer, he seems to have found little to his liking in his prep school apart from stussages and toy trains, aeroplanes and cars.) He is also a man with a wonderfully dry sense of humour and it is curious to deep people the right to laugh at what they have lived through (or, indeed, to snigger at what most others have lived through). But humour can soften as well as sharpen verbal blows. There is much to laugh at in this book, but much which makes one wonder whether one should be laughing.

The British private boarding educational system is like an extended version of those weekend seclusion-raising therapy sessions which give people confidence by abusing them; except that, whereas the short, sharp psycho-people go to control by preventing people going to the lavatory, the young bodies are preferred to dominate young bodies forcing excretory regularly on them. (Marshall is particularly astute on this point: "It appears a downhill slide when one is released to relieve oneself or not at will is no justification for the miseries that have gone before.")

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commentary

Psychosis in La Serenissima

Stephen Pickles

THOMAS OTWAY

Venice Preserv'd
Almeida Theatre

Venice Preserv'd has not been seen in London for a quarter-century. Otway's best play, it conjures a murky world blasted by neurotic idealists and dreadful deeds, its action a pathology of emotional triangles ruptured by the machinery of the Venetian State. Venice is the world of the play, not merely a location but an ambiguous idea in the minds of all the characters; "La Serenissima" is at once a flaming whore, and a virgin wedded to the Adriatic.

A plan to overthrow the Senate is ill-fated. Belvidera learns of it from the valet Jaffier, and persuades him to betray his friend, Pierre, and their fellow conspirators. The plot moves with crude energy, Otway's verse being essentially an unsophisticated outpouring of passionate frustration and wilful authenticity. Yet his cynicism parades the possible tragic proportions of the play and there is a strong sense of Pierre and Jaffier playing their treacherous parts like sick comic-strip heroes.

Tim Albery has made the decision to use a cast of only four, the two women doubling frequently for masochistic senator, bitter father, and so on. This inevitably concentrates the action on character and performance, largely to the detriment of the play's shape and design. Though that need not be a bad thing, there are moments when confusion reigns. Still, the Almeida Company choose not to present an obvious ranting Restoration tragedy fraught with Byronicism and mannerist chiaroscuro. And although they and the play lose much in that choice, there are many moments of strange quality and power, revealing inner worlds which might otherwise have been swamped by "rage and fury".

The actors are not up to that manner anyhow. What they attempt is something more conversational, a sort of casual psychosis. Their problem lies in continuing to "act", as actors will, even though they have forgone Edmund Kean's delivery. Jonathan Moore's Pierre is too redolent of the King's Road, hands in pockets, pretentiously intense and laid back rather than studied, cynical, and sardonic. This may be the point, but it could be better made by a more effortless speech. Andrew Wilde is often more successful at communicating his reading of Jaffier. Unfortunately, piling and whining make their point once or twice, then

irritate and distract. Again, he expresses neurotic confusion and weakness too messily. Perhaps endless toying with his dagger, claspings and snivelling and hugging himself like a lost child, are intended to suggest the truth of his character. But even a mess needs pruning to convince on stage. At times he reveals appropriate sentiment, and at others tools indiscreetly with good lines.

The women are better, although Johanna Kirby's hard-hearted father is too much to take. Aquilina gives us her best. Singing "Ephesians" in the manner of Dorothy Tutin, this courtesan glitters coldly - like the baubles exacted from her ancient masochistic senator, Antonio. Helen Cooper's performance as this doting in the often cut "Nicky-nacky" scenes is a model of understatement, and eclipses her broken Belvidera. Prose is anyway easier to manage and together they lift the scene into something dingy yet pathetic.

A new shade of noir

Richard Combs

Angel
Various cinemas

The title of *Angel* evokes a long line of tortured, black-and-white thrillers in which the old tale of love and death, jealousy and betrayal inevitably throws up an avenging angel who reads a fine line between heaven and hell. The difference here is not simply that *Angel* is in colour - and colour of an unusual, burnished intensity - but that its setting is Northern Ireland and the secular epiphanies of *film noir* have a real theological weight. One might interpret the roseate glow of a night club stage as an inferno, but references to heaven and hell in the dialogue itself make it clear that the religious dimension is never far from anyone's mind. Almost as frequent a topic of discussion is either the hero - a musician who trades saxophone for sub-machine gun when embroiled in a gangland shooting - or "blessed" in his ambidextrous calling. And he himself is inclined ritually to ask of any woman if she was a "convent girl".

Sectarian politics might also be expected to colour the picture, but they remain more abstract, difficult to grapple with, than the immediate, day-to-day business of the damnation of the soul. While questioning saxophonist Danny (Stephen Rea), a police

In this production, their scruffy relationship seems hardly worse than those of the other three. This is a point sharply made, but the final scene spared so superficial a show. A few pecks, nibbles and gropes evoke the terrible friendship, nothing of absolute disappointment, shame and forgiveness. Instead, a hint of naughtiness, wicked glee, and schoolboys' games misfiring. No emotion informs the ending, because it has all been single-mindedly drained away by the director before the evening begins.

Antony MacDonald's design is beautifully done, characters gathered in the faded *sala maggiore* of a deserted *palazzo*. Fallen chandeliers speak of Venice's decline; mirrors draped with black hint at covert obsessions. And characters come and go, assuming other roles and costumes like inmates in some extraordinary asylum.

Henry Popkin

LANFORD WILSON

Angels Fall
Circle Repertory Company, New York

Writing for the off-Broadway Circle Repertory Company which has been his theatrical home since 1969, Lanford Wilson has again undertaken the dramatic form which he brought off best in *Hotel Baltimore*. That is to say, *Angels Fall* assembles by accident a number of strangers and casual acquaintances who will strike off sparks by their forced association with one another. Instead of being the guests and employees of a seedy hotel, the protagonists of *Angels Fall* are a priest and five others detained at his old, isolated mission church in New

Mexico by an accident at a uranium mine.

What a setting this would have for one of those inspirational dramas long ago: science fails, and in the secularist victims enjoy a spiritual uplifting encounter with a stranger, stranger, who may or may not be Deity Himself. Not so; to begin with there is nothing mysterious about little jokes and mangles old saws figure in the play, he is continuing to attempt to prevent such rule of parishioners who do not comprehend his sermon but content to order "more of the same". The function of the uranium mine is to demonstrate the possibility of imminent destruction and thereby concentrate the mind.

The two total strangers are an England professor of art history and a young wife. Proclaiming that he is a Jew, and that no one knows anything about the history of art, the professor renounces his profession and his classes three weeks before the end of term; and his university has him to a stylish restaurant in a South-west. A second couple, a widow of a regional painter and a lover, a fledgling professional player. The widow's calling is to arrange exhibits of her late husband's paintings. The tennis player's wife is obvious enough, and he has second thoughts about it, but he certainly qualifies him to speak authoritatively than the others and to mention numerous less clear-cut examples, to suggest that conditions in the modern world simply do not permit Western democracies to be engaged in undertakings of this kind, and wise statesmen will therefore not attempt them. It was on this basis that (if I may be personal) I predicted, in 1964 and thereafter, that the United States may be (though the record of these tyrannies suggests that in practice they are no more than a Liberal states have to the account of public opinion, and in my mind quite bound to the long run to some sceptical of arguments for the benefits constantly

promised are constantly deferred. I wish opinion were more sceptical in the short run, but let it pass. This attitude is another reality which wise statesmen ought to take into account. American statesmen, as is now notorious, took account of opinion by trying ineptly to deceive it, which only made things worse.

I am sorry to find that Luttwak does not seem to accept these elementary points. His view of international and domestic reality is obviously different; I leave it to him to expound and to your readers to judge between us. But in conclusion may I pick up two points on which he has plainly misunderstood me?

My reference to "the genocidal strategy of the American high command" was meant to cover American policy throughout Indo-China, not just in Cambodia. I do not like the word "genocidal", but until someone suggests a more precise term for such cases of overkill, it will have to do. When I consider the quantity of bombs (for example) that were dropped on Vietnam, or the ratio of American to Indo-Chinese casualties, I feel no duty to err on the side of understatement.

Mr Luttwak also misunderstands my point about American casualties. I intended a comparison, of course, with America's other wars, not with road deaths. But modern society is actually less tolerant of deaths in battle than of deaths on the road. Perhaps this should not be so, but while it is, there is another fact for statesmen to take into account.

So I still cannot accept Luttwak's repeated characterization of American opposition to the war as unreasonable. Much of that opposition was directed against the consequences of what he himself calls "the unstrategic use of military power". Many Americans thought there was far too much unnecessary killing and destruction, and it seems that Luttwak agrees. Second, much of the opposition was inspired by the belief that victory was not attainable by any means open to the United States - a belief which, as stated, I share. Finally, many believed that a great democracy ought not to intervene in other societies' civil wars if it could be avoided. Is that unreasonable? Perhaps Luttwak thinks so; as I began by remarking, the difference between his views and mine is profound.

HUGH BROGAN,
Department of History, University of Essex, Wivenhoe Park, Colchester.

America and the Vietnam War

Mr. - I fear that the differences between Edward Luttwak and me are too profound to be reconciled through the medium of a *TLS* correspondence (November 5); but they are stated precisely, and the points on which he misunderstands me can be clarified.

Mr Luttwak seems to think that the undoubted horrors of Communist rule in Indo-China justify the American attempt to prevent such rule establishing itself, and that with better management the attempt might have succeeded. I deny both parts of his proposition, which, taken as a whole, seems to be highly dangerous. If it is accepted it may be used to justify fresh disastrous adventures - Latin America, perhaps. I claim that my views derive from an accurate reading of twentieth-century history. Luttwak will find it difficult to see a single case where the sort of surprise which the Americans effected in South Vietnam succeeded. And if he does find one (he will find it in Malaysia, perhaps) he will find it difficult to argue that it was significantly similar to the Indo-Chinese case as to make American policy in that region plausible or prudent in conception, let alone in execution. Whereas I can point to Russian intervention in revolution, to the Chinese experience in Indo-China, and to the American failure in Vietnam; and to mention numerous less clear-cut examples, to suggest that conditions in the modern world simply do not permit Western democracies to be engaged in undertakings of this kind, and wise statesmen will therefore not attempt them. It was on this basis that (if I may be personal) I predicted, in 1964 and thereafter, that the United States may be (though the record of these tyrannies suggests that in practice they are no more than a Liberal states have to the account of public opinion, and in my mind quite bound to the long run to some sceptical of arguments for the benefits constantly

promised are constantly deferred. I wish opinion were more sceptical in the short run, but let it pass. This attitude is another reality which wise statesmen ought to take into account. American statesmen, as is now notorious, took account of opinion by trying ineptly to deceive it, which only made things worse.

I am sorry to find that Luttwak does not seem to accept these elementary points. His view of international and domestic reality is obviously different; I leave it to him to expound and to your readers to judge between us. But in conclusion may I pick up two points on which he has plainly misunderstood me?

My reference to "the genocidal strategy of the American high command" was meant to cover American policy throughout Indo-China, not just in Cambodia. I do not like the word "genocidal", but until someone suggests a more precise term for such cases of overkill, it will have to do. When I consider the quantity of bombs (for example) that were dropped on Vietnam, or the ratio of American to Indo-Chinese casualties, I feel no duty to err on the side of understatement.

HUGH BROGAN,
Department of History, University of Essex, Wivenhoe Park, Colchester.

The Image and the Eye

Mr. - In his review (October 29) of my book *The Image and the Eye* Rudolf Arnheim tells your readers that I regard "highly naturalistic styles" as the consummation of art's function. I do not. I have always stressed that what is called "art" can serve very different functions; but while the painted cyclorama may admirably suit the purpose of the fairground this does not make me prefer its style to that of the windows of Chartres Cathedral.

Perhaps it was not to be expected that one of the last champions of the original tenets of the Gestalt School of psychology could succeed in his evident effort to be fair to a book which relies on alternative theories. But since in his recent work *The Power of the Center* Arnheim quotes with approval a passage from my book *The Sense of Order*, it cannot have escaped him that my reservations about the Gestalt hypothesis have not led me to ignore the problems and achievements of formal organization in the arts.

E. H. GOMBRICH,
19 Briardale Gardens, London NW3.

The Facilitators

Mr. - Your reviewer Grevel Lindop (October 15) was wrongly solemn about my *The Facilitators*. As is quite plain to most readers, it is a book of tall stories: "Nice try, Daniel!" says Madam at the end of the book. "But I think I should like to hear a few more stories about me first"; and the confidence tricksters at the beginning come into the Institute with the

avowed and explicit intention of inventing a madness so peculiar and comical that "it makes Madame laugh". So of course the Institute is a place "where anything can happen", because people are making it up.

My point in the book is that making things up can be a therapy. How unpopular this is with reviewers who put aside their sense of humour when they review, I have discovered. I suppose *The Facilitators* literary ancestor is Nigel Dennis's *Cards of Identity*.

Grevel Lindop seems wrong on some other points too. My book suggests that masturbation is good practice for loving intercourse. Why is this "a vulgarization of vitally liberating poetic insights"? If it is true (and it is one of the liberations endorsed by the Women's Movement) then it is all the more poetic, for, as Blake says, the body is that "portion of Soul discern'd by the five Senses".

Again, a satire, however gentle, on contemporary psychological fashions, will naturally exploit a little "psycho-babble". Lindop also confuses "fancy", "fantasy" and "imagination". In Jungian analytical psychology (which is just as little and just as much "pop" as such-and-such is "fancy") is indeed fairly irrelevant, being of the "persona", role-playing, manipulative; "pop" would do as a definition of "fancy". "Fantasy" is spontaneous visionary or semi-visionary intrusion from the unconscious, and it is the subject for "active imagination" or creative interpretation, which is where "imagination" comes in. Imagination is thus the chief therapeutic tool in Jungian analytical psychology, and "fantasy" is ineffectual imagination. Grevel Lindop will have heard of the archetype of the Trickster. One must keep on one's

guard against Trickster by maintaining one's sense of humour. Without this amulet he may change you into a solemn owl.

PETER REDGROVE,
Falmouth, Cornwall.

'Buckingham'

Mr. - Lest my ignorance of the seventeenth century should appear to be even more abysmal than it really is I shall be grateful if you will allow me to point out that in my review of Roger Lockyer's *Buckingham* (October 29) one should read "Cecil" for "Bacon" in the sentence: "Bacon and Cranfield held the same great offices of state."

PATRICK COLLINSON,
Keynes College, The University, Canterbury, Kent.

'Gnarly'

Mr. - I'm sure that Eric Korn will be, like, thrilled to know that the Valley Girls' favourite pejorative is "grody", not "gnarly" (Reminders, October 29). And the superlative is "bitchin'" without the final "e"; rhymes with "kitchen".

MARGOT KERNAN,
1601 38th Street NW, Washington DC 20007.

Among this week's contributors

MICHAEL BALFOUR's *West Germany* was published last year.

QUENTIN BELL's *A New and Noble School: The Pre-Raphaelites* will be reviewed shortly in the *TLS*.

MARILYN BUTLER is a Fellow of St Hugh's College, Oxford. Her books include *Jane Austen and the War of Ideas*, 1975, and *Romanticism, Rebels and Reactionaries*, 1981.

NICHOLAS CANNY is the author of *The Upright Earl*, to be reviewed shortly in the *TLS*.

PETER CONRAD's books include *Romantic Opera and Literary Form*, 1977.

JOHN HURRELL CROOK's books include *The Evolution of Human Consciousness*, 1980.

D. J. ENRIGHT's *Collected Poems* appeared earlier this year.

CELINA FOX is Curator of Paintings, Prints and Drawings at the Museum of London.

JASPER GRAPPIN is a Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford. His *Shobs* appeared earlier this year.

IAN HAMILTON's biography of Robert Lowell is to be published shortly.

BRIAN HARRISON is a Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. His latest book, *Peaceable Kingdom: Stability and Change in Modern Britain*, has just been published.

KENNETH INGHAM's books include *The Making of Modern Uganda*, 1958.

JOHN KEGAN's *Six Armies in Normandy* was published earlier this year.

J. H. C. LEACH is a Fellow of Pembroke College, Oxford.

WILLIAM LOGAN's collection of poems, *Sad-Paced Men*, was published earlier this year.

PETER MARSHALL is Professor of American Studies at the University of Manchester.

Author, Author

PAUL ROBERTS's books include *Henry Fielding: A Biography*, 1979.

ALAN ROSS is the editor of *The London Magazine*.

FRANCES SPALDING's biography of Roger Fry was published in 1981.

HILARY SPURLING's *Handbook to Anthony Powell's Music of Time* was published in 1977.

STUART SUTHERLAND is Professor of Experimental Psychology at the University of Sussex.

D. C. WATT is Professor of International History at the London School of Economics.

Competition No 96

Readers are invited to identify the sources of the three quotations which follow and to send us the answers so that they reach this office not later than December 3. A prize of £10 is offered for the first correct set of answers opened on that date, or failing that the most nearly correct, in which case inspired guesswork will also be taken into consideration.

Entries, marked "Author, Author 96" on the envelope, should be addressed to the Editor, *The Times Literary Supplement*, Priory House, St John's Lane, London EC1M 4BX. The solution and results will appear on December 10.

1 I wake and feel the fell of dark, not day.
What hours, O what black hours we have spent
This night! what sights you have seen,
And more must, in yet longer light's delay.

2 To peel back those elder-ducks one slumberin' lovelies - Prince Charm
ing presents his compliments. Who's this John Moores in his marital cloak
- get off it wotcher - come away counterfeiting death - cancher
hear the bird o' dawnin' - roll up it's tomorrow alright.

3 And then methought outside a fast
locked gate
I mourned the loss of unrecorded
whods,
Forgotten tales and mysteries half
said,
Wonders that might have been ar-
ticular,
And voiceless thoughts like mur-
dered singing birds,
And so I woke and knew that he was
dead.

Competition No 92
Winner: Alex Smith
Answers:
1 Come fly with me,
come sniff the wind
with the expertise
of the Vikings
Seamus Heaney, "Viking Dublin,
Trial pieces", V

2 The heroes passed upon the plain,
When ope of them but swayed, ring
mashed on ring;
Sound of the byrnie's knifed
chain,
Vague evocations of the constant
Thing:
"Thom Gunn, 'The Byrnie'"

3 This woman was laid overboard
in Green
land's son: is Gudveig; light
Francis Berry, "Gudveig"

From Westminster to Kurdistan

Briony Llewellyn

Drawings by Sir George Hayter and John Hayter
Morton Morris and Company, 32 Bury Street, London SW1.

Today little remains of Sir George Hayter's brief but once high renown. If he is remembered at all it is as a painter of portraits and of official occasions in the decade after, or so before, and the few years after, Queen Victoria's accession to the throne. He was patronized by several members of the nobility and then by the new Queen herself, who commissioned him to paint her state portrait, her coronation and her marriage; on the death of Sir David Wilkie in 1841, she made him her court painter and a year later gave him a knighthood. In 1843 he at last finished his "great picture" commemorating the first sitting of the House of Commons after the Reform Bill of 1832.

Grand contemporary events were not the only object of his artistic ambitions however, and as a young man he had established a reputation for dramatic history paintings, often

exploring subjects seldom depicted before. Perhaps they were too rarefied, for as tastes changed he found difficulty selling his work. His fortunes were not helped by his failure to obtain the one title necessary for full artistic recognition - that of Royal Academician. One reason for this seems to have been his unconventional private life: although married, he had for twelve years lived openly with a mistress who had then committed suicide. The young Queen Victoria was apparently able to overlook the scandal, but Prince Albert could not, and other artists took Hayter's place in the royal favour. Soon afterwards, halfway through his career, he faded into obscurity.

The present exhibition of his sketches (together with those of his less ambitious younger brother, John) is the first to be devoted to Hayter since researched catalogues by Barbara Coffey, 46pp, £3, 0 946231 00 2) is the first serious survey of his life and work.

There are a few fine portraits, and many studies which demonstrate his inclinations towards more unusual and exotic themes, such as "Cranfield of Kurdistan" assisting "Georgians" in

carrying off Circassian Women", though the finished canvases of this and other such subjects are now lost. Since the basis of the exhibition is an album of drawings once in John Hayter's possession, its emphasis is on the more informal and personal aspect of the brothers' art. There are several delightful domestic scenes by both: sister Ann asleep; George's "Cupid Alighting his Bow" is one of his more fanciful subjects. Several landscape group drawings of the Isle of Wight, c. 1823-5, show George's feeling for nature and an interest in curiously shaped rocks and cliffs.

On the second of George's two long visits to Italy, in the later 1820s, he developed an interest in the orient, a taste already made fashionable by a Byron. One vigorous sketch shows a man, perhaps one of his friends, dressed in oriental costume and sitting cross-legged, smoking a hookah-pipe. Hayter also seems to have met some of the Eastern visitors who came to Europe around this time.

In revealing something of George Hayter's lively imagination and versatile mind, as well as the less

powerful but endearing qualities of his brother John, the exhibition (which can be seen until November 26) brings to life two unjustly forgotten artists.



A pen and brown ink study by John Hayter, possibly his sister Ann, asleep in a chair, her dog on her lap; from the exhibition of drawings by Sir George Hayter and John Hayter reviewed here.

Wilson accomplishes all of this with great care for characterization and dialogue. The small talk that ensues between these strange encounters is not as entertaining and more persuasive than we have any right to expect. But what is that we get so far? They were alive at the meaningful interaction among the characters and so little probing beyond the issue of vocation. The problem is that the issue of vocation is not the issue of the wife that he would like to know the secret of the other couple's relationship. If there is a secret we do not learn what it is, nor do we get a special insight into the problem of relationship with his supportive wife. The widow observes that, by present liaison cannot last, by present liaison cannot last, by present liaison cannot last. No one changes, no one changes, no one changes. The interesting but, because the characters reveal not much more of themselves than the theme of vocation requires.

Angels Fall is honestly and deftly directed by Marshall W. Mason, who shows particular skill in drawing a right mixture of weary intelligence from Bernard Hughes as the man, the dangerous impression of the collapse from Fritz Weitz as the burned-out professor. John La Plante, who is a better image of a man, contributes a better image of a man, but church that we are accustomed to Broadway.

Wilson accomplishes all of this with great care for characterization and dialogue. The small talk that ensues between these strange encounters is not as entertaining and more persuasive than we have any right to expect. But what is that we get so far? They were alive at the meaningful interaction among the characters and so little probing beyond the issue of vocation. The problem is that the issue of vocation is not the issue of the wife that he would like to know the secret of the other couple's relationship. If there is a secret we do not learn what it is, nor do we get a special insight into the problem of relationship with his supportive wife. The widow observes that, by present liaison cannot last, by present liaison cannot last, by present liaison cannot last. No one changes, no one changes, no one changes. The interesting but, because the characters reveal not much more of themselves than the theme of vocation requires.

Continental realities

Kenneth Ingham

CRAWFORD YOUNG

Ideology and Development in Africa
376pp. Yale University Press. £19.95.
0 300 02744 3

Crawford Young's conclusion that ideological preference has played no consistent role in the performance of African states in the two decades since independence, though admittedly a preliminary one, holds little novelty for anyone with a reasonable knowledge of the African continent. Was his investigation then really necessary? The fact that the Council on Foreign Relations thought so, disturbing though the implications of that may possibly be, suggests that it was. The Council is not alone in its uncertainty about what goes on in Africa.

The trouble is that independent African countries have suffered grievously from the attentions of outsiders whose prime objective has been to use them as the screen upon which to project their own political and economic visions. These outsiders include transient journalists seeking to compress a world of complexity into a striking headline, politically motivated academics proposing the answers to Africa's problems before asking the questions, international business consortia skilfully promoting their own profits, and governments of both the Eastern and Western blocs less skilfully pursuing what they vaguely believe to be their own interests. Instead of trying to discover the needs and hopes of the countries with which they have concerned themselves, they have attempted to superimpose their own interpretations upon the actions and aspirations of African leaders. Colonialism may be drawing to a close, but the attitudes of colonialism — paternalism and the desire to exploit the economic and strategic potential of Africa — remain.

One result of all this has been that labels such as Marxist, socialist, pro-Western or pro-communist have been carelessly attached to African states, not on the basis of any analysis of their political philosophies, but simply as the product of careless or wishful thinking. Professor Young's book is important, therefore, not only because of its avowed aim of discovering the effect of ideology upon development, but even more because he has had to consider the degree of congruence between the ideological titles — Marxist-Leninist, populist-socialist and capitalist — under which, in line with popular thinking, he has categorized African states for the purpose of his analysis, and the nature of the policies they have in fact pursued.

There may, indeed, as Young suggests, have been endless earnest debates in student restaurants and Left-Bank cafes, and diverse congresses on the eve of independence, in the hope of creating a satisfactory ideological blueprint for the future. In fact, with a few notable exceptions, African countries which achieved independence in the late 1950s and the early 1960s were more immediately concerned with the practical problems arising from the end of the colonial era than with laying new ideological foundations. The main tasks facing the leaders of that time were those of creating a community of purpose among their diverse followers and of maintaining an effective economic structure. The chief obstacles in the way of their success were traditional tribal loyalties and the shortage of natural resources and trained manpower. In the absence of any other focus of loyalty the men who had brought their countries to independence were forced to take that role upon themselves. In those difficult circumstances it was usually easier to take over the administrative machinery left by their colonial predecessors than to embark upon an inevitably risky ideological experiment. Though it might, occasionally, have appeared necessary to emphasize that colonialism was at an end and by propounding policies which claimed to draw their strength from traditional African roots or specifically anti-colonial dogma, most leaders lacked the problems pragmatically.

Young's investigation of individual African states. The Ivory Coast, for example, achieved political independence in close collaboration with France without having suffered the indignity of settler occupation. Houphouët-Boigny was consequently able to retain the expertise of French businessmen and agricultural experts without arousing popular resentment. This was of great benefit to an economy largely dependent upon a steadily diversifying agricultural sector. Under French guidance new opportunities were provided for an emerging class of petty rural capitalists and employment was offered to hundreds of thousands of rural labourers. Thus a policy listed by Young under the category of "capitalist" has emerged upon the "easily adapted foundations of French colonial rule because it seemed the most obviously successful line to follow, and because it suited Houphouët-Boigny's own way of thinking. It won widespread acceptance for nearly twenty years, though since the book was completed doubts have begun to emerge about the share of benefit accruing to the French on the one hand and to the people of the Ivory Coast on the other. It may be, therefore, that a shift of policy will take place in the natural course of events.

Algeria, by contrast, listed by Young among the populist-socialist group of states, became independent only after a bloody conflict which led to the flight of most of the French settlers upon whose activities the country's economy had been based under colonial rule. The nationalization of the former French-controlled industries and the redistribution of the land previously occupied by the settlers were thus essential steps to maintain the economy on a functional basis. To infuse new life into those enterprises it was also necessary to assert most vigorously the Algerian nationalism which the French had consistently denied. It was clearly impossible to follow the administrative pattern laid down by the French. It was equally contrary to traditional attitudes to adopt the Marxist-Leninist programme advocated by a handful of foreign intellectuals. Instead, a form of populist-socialism emerged almost automatically as the guiding principle of Algerian policy, though it was subsequently given shape and was formally adopted by the new government. Even then the pattern did not remain unchanged. In the light of experience the original proposals for worker participation had to be abandoned when the need for efficient operation called for greater state intervention.

Guinea probably provides the clearest example of the difficulty of creating an ideologically based state when resources are limited and trained manpower at a premium. Abandoned totally by France after Sekou Touré's refusal to join the new French community, the state at once, in line with Touré's own socialist philosophy, took control over trade, currency, credit and prices. This defiant gesture won the approval of Sekou Touré's fellow-countrymen but when, as in many other instances, the hoped-for aid from the Soviet Union was not forthcoming, the incompetence of those in office and their failure to maintain the country's economy on a stable footing aroused dissatisfaction. Gradually the control of production and trade began to revert to private operators, and when the president tried to prevent that drift many of the more able Guineans went into exile. Even after their departure popular discontent persisted, and by 1978 Sekou Touré himself had to recognize that he humbly to France for help. The high regard in which he was held had enabled him for a season to pursue a policy which ran counter to traditional practice and more recent colonial experience, but its manifest failure compelled him to change his tack. It is interesting to speculate whether, given a more competent and experienced body of supporters, there was any prospect of longevity along the lines Sekou Touré had tried to lay down, even in a country so little endowed with natural resources. And whether, too, he had been more successful, his would

have retained support for an essentially alien ideology.

The experience of President Nyerere in Tanzania, as Young's argument illustrates, poses similar questions. Nyerere was, and still is, every bit as popular with his people as the Guinean leader. Few heads of state would have had the courage and the confidence in the loyalty of their fellow-countrymen to proclaim as Nyerere did the slogan of "Freedom and Work", and to make it abundantly clear to his followers that independence not only did not imply immediate prosperity, but that even to maintain existing living standards would demand prodigious efforts by everyone and considerable self-restraint on the part of those whose ability might lead them to expect rich rewards. His version of African socialism, with its roots in the communal life of pre-colonial Africa, stirred the pride of his newly



On the corner of Commissioner and Eloff Streets, Boksburg: one of the seventy-one black-and-white photographs by David Goldblatt which he has assembled in *In Boksburg*, a visual record of daily life in a small town, middle-class white community in South Africa (84pp. Gallery Press, PO Box 4547, Cape Town. R16.85. 0 620 05933 8). Middle South Africa, as depicted with sardonic precision by Goldblatt, offers enticing glimpses of a world in which middle-aged couples dance along with Victor Sylvester, practise public speaking or rehearse madrigals in a floral-carpeted, plaster-duck-serviced 1950s ambience spiced with such exotica as the Saturday morning Miss Lovely Legs Competition at the Hypermarket. Black South Africans, thanks to the system, on the whole find themselves excluded from these activities.

independent people initially. Put into practice in the shape of his *ujamaa* villages however, it soon seemed to be carrying communal responsibility far beyond anything prescribed by tradition. Agriculturalists who knew little about ideology but a lot about the benefits of hard work on their own behalf began to drag their feet. Whether overtly or not Nyerere's programme has been subsequently modified. Nevertheless, it would be unjust to attribute Tanzania's poverty to the application of an inappropriate ideology. What lies at the root of the problem, as British colonial administrators knew full well, is the condition which has been exacerbated by involvement in the war with Uganda. Even this latter question is more justly described as the result of idealism rather than of ideology, two aspects of Nyerere's character which are frequently confused by his critics.

If poverty has been the main cause of Tanzania's problems, Young demonstrates clearly that the possession of mineral wealth is no guarantee of general prosperity. In Gabon, in marked contrast to the success of French involvement in the Ivory Coast, the exploitation of oil, manganese and uranium has brought considerable profit to foreign investors and technical expertise, but few Gabonese have even spectacular employment as a result of the economy. In Zaïre, meanwhile, an attempt to use the economic independence in the 1970s led to near disaster. This was due not only to the fall in the price offered for copper on the world market, but also to the inexperience, corruption and incompetence of the Zaïreans to whom control of the country's vast mineral

resources has been transferred. Again, in Nigeria, the development of the country's oil resources has made a few wealthy and has considerably improved the standard of living of urban workers in employment. The urban unemployed, however, have been correspondingly impoverished, while the vast majority of the population, living in rural areas, have suffered because of the low priority given to agricultural development by an élite whose roots, unusually in this African context, were in commerce rather than in the countryside. They have suffered, too, because the large-scale schemes evolved by the élite when they did attempt to promote improvements in the agricultural sector were inappropriate to the situation with which they were dealing.

There is, nevertheless, another side to the elitist coin. The leaders of Nigeria hold education in high regard governments might be prepared to adopt, though without serious commitment, the ideological labels benefactors. Young, however, concludes that the ideological attitudes of African states have been little affected by the prospect of external aid. This statement that Israel alone, between 1976 and 1979, received four to five times more aid from the United States than did the whole of the African continent, while after the Camp David agreement Egypt received as much as all the other African states together, is not to suggest that the large sums upon Africa of external aid has been negligible, but it does reinforce the conclusion that ideological issues have had little more than a random effect upon the continent. By all the other invoked by the author — growth, equality of distribution, participation and enlargement of the state's capacity to meet new challenges and adapt to new situations — no coherent pattern can be perceived. While the "capitalist" states of Kenya and the Ivory Coast have achieved solid growth without the benefit of an oil bonanza, but countries have recently experienced constraints in their economic activities, accompanied by internal criticism of the policies they have hitherto successfully pursued. Equality of distribution may be judged in a number of ways. Undoubtedly corruption appears to flourish more vigorously in capitalist Nigeria and Zaïre than in most Marxist or socialist states, but may be due to the greater opportunities offered by the abundance of mineral wealth in those countries. Again, while Marxist or populist socialist states such as Tanzania, Mozambique or Guinea-Bissau have restricted "buccaneering mercantile activity by the political élite", an effective agricultural policy of the Ivory Coast and Kenya, while allowing an élite to prosper, have enabled the rural workers to improve their own situation markedly. "Massive and systematic assaults upon human dignity," Young suggests, are a function not of ideological strategy but of insecure and paranoid rulers and a former President Amin of Uganda. Popular participation in government has nowhere proved to be a significant feature of African development, as does there appear to be any extensive overlap between ideology and a state's capacity to face up to new challenges.

Having said this there remains to be read a strong conviction that the whole issue is remote from the main problem of Africa — that of establishing on a secure foundation independent countries which were originally created as colonial fiefs and were subsequently developed as part of larger economic and cultural units. As independent nations they not only face the task of transforming a dependent colonial economy into a self-sufficient economy without the basic material resources which do so at anything more than a level that would scarcely meet even the modest expectations of most African states, but also create a sense of indigenous nationhood against a recent colonial tribal variation and a recent colonial influence. On the economic side there are, therefore, some very real problems. The Africanist, on the cultural side, is likely to encounter pitfalls. One has only to observe the jealousy with which the Organization of African Unity guards the boundaries of its membership, the laid down by colonial powers which they were, lest any crack in the edifice pattern should lead to the destruction of the whole fabric of society. Yet Africa is not to suffer incalculably from its own poverty and the international well-meaning or self-policy of truders, a more positive policy of development must be produced through consultation between African states and the governments of the wealthier powers. Perhaps the least of their own interests sufficiently for their own background to make any consultations possible. Perhaps the Council on Foreign Relations will see this as the next project to engage its attention.

UNITED STATES

Light on the Chesapeake

Nicholas Canny

DAVID B. QUINN (Editor)

Early Maryland in a Wider World
30pp. Detroit: Wayne State University Press. \$18.50.
0 8143 1689 1

Most historians will have an appreciation of the high standard of scholarship maintained by those engaged upon the study of colonial North America over the last two decades, and the dedicated few will be aware that the focus of attention has recently shifted from Puritan New England to the tobacco-producing colonies of Virginia and Maryland, and to the Chesapeake Bay area. When taken together these will explain why, by the early seventeenth century, the principal Spanish concern with North America was limited to excluding their enemies from settlement at all points south of the Chesapeake.

Where the essay by Parry indicates why the state of England might have wished to encourage trespass on the putative Spanish domain of North America, the evocative reconstruction by Melvin Jackson of a typical trans-Atlantic voyage explains why the individual Englishman should have given second thoughts to embarking for Maryland. Why such reservations were cast aside is discussed by Quinn, who describes the gradual English intrusion into North America and who discusses the motives of those who became involved there. Due allowance is made for the compelling desire of religious groups, Catholic as well as Protestant, to establish a model society in America, but it is clear from Quinn's contribution that this was only one of a complex of motives that impelled Englishmen to persist with colonial experimentation in North America throughout the sixteenth century. The fact that Quinn considers these transatlantic experiments in the light of the activity of projectors at home indicates that the economic motive was always the dominant one, and he concludes that by the seventeenth century, when migration developed on a large scale, the "incentives for leaving Europe" had become "more specific and realistic".

This conclusion rests on the authority of a life-time's work on English colonial expansion, but it, in turn, provides support for the tentative suggestions advanced by G. R. Elton in a lively, speculative essay on what might have motivated some

Englishmen to seek a new home in North America during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Addressing himself to the entrenched notion that it was the existence of widespread religious and political discontent which explains English emigration to America, Elton argues that Englishmen had less reason for discontent than did most of their Continental contemporaries, and he asserts that they were conscious of this fact to the extent that they "thought England was good and elsewhere was inferior". This has convinced Elton that only "the freaks" who "could not coexist with anyone" emigrated for religious reasons, and a quick glance at recent literature on the origins of the English Civil War justifies the assertion that "until 1642 there was no struggle between parliament and king" and, therefore, no occasion for widespread political disaffection. Thus, by a process of elimination, Elton concludes that it was principally the desire for economic betterment which explains the departure of Englishmen for North America, and he believes that most who went there, like their contemporaries who settled in Ireland, wished to extend the authority of the crown rather than to separate themselves from it.

David Quinn, the editor of *Early Maryland in a Wider World*, would seem to have set himself the task of remedying these deficiencies of recent literature on colonial Maryland, and if this was his purpose in preparing the collection he has been entirely successful. Not only what happened in Maryland but the entire English involvement with seventeenth-century North America is here presented in the context of developments in two continents over the previous century and a half. The authors are established scholars, each has succeeded in relating his contribution to the general theme, and the ten essays are organized coherently with a well introduction by Professor Quinn himself. This handsome volume will certainly earn a wide readership among scholars and students of colonial America, but it should also serve the purpose of explaining to social historians in general why they should consult what has recently been published on the Colonial Chesapeake.

The essay of Francis Jennings explains how the European intrusion in North America disturbed a highly developed native alliance system, stretching from the Great Lakes to the Chesapeake, no less than it did the subsistence economy of the North American Indians. What is discussed

prominence. By way of contrast one cannot imagine a nineteenth-century historian eschewing the dramatic possibilities offered by the reason of Benedict Arnold, an act that here escapes any discussion.

A narrative of events after 1775 presents problems, but these are much more manageable than those encountered in seeking to provide a connected account of the path to war. The unification of colonial resistance came about in consequence of a protracted, uncoordinated, and but gradually apparent series of steps; only time and continued conflicts with imperial authority could bring centres remote from one another in distance and interests into organized collaboration and single-minded purpose. Imperial policy, not colonial responses, seems to be a sure foundation for L. H. Gipson's heroic *British Empire Before the American Revolution* — a work that goes unrecognized in Middlekauff's bibliography — but the provision of a much more compressed account which bases its narrative upon colonial events, cannot result otherwise than in a spasmodic and inchoate version of events. Such an approach, moreover, does not find room for the inclusion of the findings of some of the most important recent analytical investigations of the pre-revolutionary colonies, even though they are listed in the bibliography. So for Middlekauff, mob are mobs, the urban tension discussed by Gary Nash and the political tactics and organization uncovered by Pauline Mater do not find their way into his pages.

A narrative account of the transformation of a group of colonial societies into a new nation was perhaps never possible but, as it stands, *The Glorious Cause* cannot be described as a glorious failure. It lacks, within its narrative emphasis, concepts which

Reliance upon narrative ensures a clear, if hardly unusual, account of the military campaigns of the Revolution. The battles occupy chapters which some might have preferred to see made available for a fuller discussion of the background and purposes of the making of the Constitution, a process which here assumes the form of a logical conclusion to the war for independence, its passage opposed only by wayward anti-Federalists. But for all the emphasis placed upon it, the war is presented in a limited and partial fashion. Little is to be gathered of the material, non-battlefield aspects of the "glorious cause" for which Americans took up arms: the fluctuating commitment to military service, the economic consequences of conscription and state financial expropriation of the actual and potential supporters of the Loyalists, gain only modest or belated recognition. John Paul Jones, however, is given considerable

Robert Middlekauff
The Glorious Cause: The American Revolution 1763-1789
696pp. Oxford University Press. £15. 0 19 502921 6

It is to be hoped and expected that the Oxford History of the United States will acquire a status and utility comparable to that of its English exemplar: nine chronological and two topical volumes are planned, and only an academic coelestium would consider this number, set against the fifteen volumes devoted to English history, to represent the payment of excessive attention to the past of a nation notorious for its recent origins.

Robert Middlekauff's volume, the first to appear and the second in the series of period surveys, deals with the creation of the United States between 1763 and 1789. It is a lengthy account of almost seven hundred pages and is kept from extending further only by a decision to reserve a full discussion of foreign affairs and Western issues for inclusion in the third volume. This exclusion is not without drawbacks: it leads, for example, to an adverse judgment on the effectiveness of the Articles of Confederation with no reference whatsoever to the passage of the Northwest Ordinance — an aspect that might not change the conclusion, but which should surely be taken into account when presenting a balanced view. The events of the Revolution are sufficiently numerous and disputable to fill much more space, but Professor Middlekauff's decision to present them in the form of a narrative does nothing to reduce the demands of description. His choice of method may also seem erroneous on other accounts.

Some will be offended by the iconoclastic tenor of Elton's essay, but in seeking to redress what he sees as an imbalance in the literature on English discovery and colonization, he does not discount the importance of religion as a factor in explaining men's decision to emigrate. The way in which religion could shape the course of events is ably demonstrated by John Bossy, who describes the ecclesiastical constitution which the Calverts negotiated for Maryland as "a kind of encapsulated model of the situation of the English Catholic community as it stood on the day the enterprise set sail". Bossy's essay serves to introduce a fifty-page account of the development of the colony of Maryland from the moment of settlement in 1634 to the taking of the first census in 1642, which also looks forward from there to the end of the colonial period. Russell Menard and Lois Green Carr, the authors of this piece, are two of the more notable members of the Chesapeake school, and their contribution here draws upon and summarizes what they and their colleagues have published in widely scattered publications.

Contrariwise, Richard S. Dunn, who develops a comparison between slavery as it was practised on Chesapeake and Caribbean plantations from the late seventeenth to the early nineteenth centuries, presents a preview of work in progress. For this reason it is likely to attract widespread attention, but even more so because Dunn challenges the explanations offered by Winthrop Jordan, Wesley Frank Craven and Edmund Morgan for the relatively late development of slavery in the Chesapeake and proffers a fresh explanation of his own. Lack of supply of slaves rather than the absence of demand explains the problem for Dunn, who knows of no evidence that planters in the Chesapeake felt any moral objection to slavery during the colonial period. To suggest that they did have such objections in the absence of evidence is, in his opinion, to attribute to them social and moral concepts from the twentieth century alien to their experience. This will have undoubted appeal for Elton since, like most of the essays in this excellent collection, Dunn's supports Elton's contention that England's colonies were founded "by good and solid greed, and by the quite normal expansion of generally accepted attitudes and purposes prevalent in the governing order in the realm of England."

Would give point to the factual detail. The two themes which are called upon with some frequency are rarely put to specific use. The revolutionaries undoubtedly were inspired by patriotic fervour and influenced by Protestant backgrounds, but the relationship of such general, and by no means equally sustained or exactly defined, views to the actions of individuals and the institutions of the new nation requires a much more exact and extensive examination than it receives here. The relevance and impact of the events described by narrative will reach the reader not through an appeal to ideas presented moderately and briefly, but rather in consequence of a union of detail and passionate conviction.

No work of this length and breadth can be kept free from error. An Oxford History, however, will be so frequently consulted that special care needs to be taken with detail. References to Britain produce a number of inaccuracies: Sir William Meredith was not a London merchant; in 1765 Burke was not Member for Bristol but for Wendover; Barrington was not Bernard's brother-in-law; Bull and Faulquier were Lieutenant-Governors, not Governors; Admiral Lord Howe is incorrectly entitled Lord Richard Howe.

Welcome though this series is, it cannot be said to have been inaugurated by a clearly outstanding merit. Clearly two centuries of sustained attention by historians have not succeeded in reducing the American Revolution, either by means of narrative or of analysis, to a topic beyond question or debate. A nation was certainly brought into being, but the causes and consequences of this change continue to fascinate, divide, and defeat historians. The Generals' war lasted but six years; the scholars' battles show no signs of an approach to Yorktown.

BERNARD SHAW ALFRED DOUGLAS

A Correspondence

Edited by MARY HYDE

It may be hard to believe that a correspondence between such total opposites as Shaw and Douglas ever took place — but it did. It begins in argument but soon they are addressing each other as St Christopher and Childs Alfred. Their personal involvement provides a fascinating light on the Oscar Wilde tragedy and there is lively comment upon members of Wilde's circle and such diverse figures as Freud, Chamberlain, Hitler, Churchill and many others.

Illustrated £15.00

JOHN MURRAY

In the slide area

Rupert Christiansen

A. ROBERT LEE (Editor)

Unfinished Hawthorne: New Critical Essays
249pp. Vision. £13.95.
0 8478 464 0

In the last of these essays, Richard Brodhead discusses Hawthorne's influence on later American writers. "The enigma of Hawthorne's 'fascination'," he writes, "becomes the main source of his fascination." This serves as the leitmotif of an otherwise variable collection. None of the contributors displays much confidence in the conclusiveness of their cases (with the notable exception of a postscript by Hawthorne's biographer, the President). Hawthorne is characterized as "freaky," "cool and remote," "apathetic," "equivocal," or "self-masking." This, of course, is nothing new. Melville wrote of a visit from Hawthorne's son Julian, who claimed that his father "had all his life concealed some great secret which would, were it known, explain all the mysteries of his career." But what we are dealing with here is the technique of modern critical theory and its consultations: possible. Perhaps the Council on Foreign Relations will see this as the next project to engage its attention.

squarely on the nexus of sin, guilt and redemption. Even earlier Henry James had been able to write him that "there has rarely been a man whom I less disposed to call things deeply into question." Something of this simplicity could profitably be recovered without loss of intellectual force. For instance none of these essays does more than mention Hawthorne's knowledge of the Puritan tradition of figurative interpretation or his interest in contemporary theories of evolution (cleverly used by Frank Kermode in *The Classic*); and no one deals with the brute fact that Hawthorne desperately needed to make money as a writer and often quite cynically imported the trappings of Gothic romance to create a saleable melodramatic fiction.

But the new Hawthorne has to be explained semantically. Typical — and outstandingly well handled — is Harold Beaver's piece on "Roger Melvin's Burial," treated as a "hieroglyphic text," situated in the "slide area" between history and fantasy and coloured with artful rhetoric. As the other end of the scale, Arnold Goldman gives a sensitive account of Hawthorne's disappointing visit to England and his failure to turn it into a successful novelistic account. Certain other pieces seem monotonous, disembodied their material of everything except the thin fate of being fiction. The enigma of Hawthorne is far richer than that.

The gospel of prevention

Brian Harrison

S. CHANDRASEKHAR (Editor)

"A Dirty, Filthy Book": The writings of Charles Knowlton and Annie Besant on Reproductive Physiology and Birth Control and an account of the Bradlaugh-Besant Trial
217pp. University of California Press. £10.25.
0 520 04168 2

RICHARD ALLEN SOLOWAY

Birth Control and the Population Question in England, 1877-1930.
418pp. University of North Carolina Press. £20.30.
0 8078 1504 7

J. A. BANKS

Victorian Values: Secularism and the size of families
203pp. Routledge and Kegan Paul. £9.50.
0 7100 0807 4

Birth control has brought to developed countries the benefits of feminism, humanitarianism, hygienic economics, which are now so obvious and which so urgently need replicating elsewhere that we find it difficult to see why it was ever opposed. S. Chandrasekhar is content simply to perpetuate the birth-controller's enlightened and progressive self-image, as propagated by Charles Knowlton and Annie Besant in the pamphlets reprinted in his edited book. Thanks to the Bradlaugh-Besant trial of 1877, and the advent of modern contraception, Professor Chandrasekhar claims, "the world has become a little better place in which to live".

Yet those who genuinely admire the courage with which Annie Besant, like other pioneer birth-controllers, in her own words "learned... to stand alone... to face opprobrium for the sake of principle" and eventually overcame "the bigots and the persecutors", will stress the strength and even the contemporary plausibility of the arguments she confronted. As for the historian, his distinctive role and obligation is to emphasize and explain contrasts between past and present, and to pinpoint the areas of greatest present-day ignorance about the past.

Nineteenth-century hostility to birth control reflects the persistence into that period of a mood of scarcity and hardship; man is weak in the face of nature, inhabits a relatively empty world, and feels the need to develop it while simultaneously fending off competitors for its scarce resources. The male's superior physical strength pushes forward the frontiers of cultivation and protects women and children through food-getting and self-defence roles which require toughness more than technical know-how. The woman's role then becomes complementary, breeding enough children to survive the rigours of an unhealthy and hostile environment and providing the male with a well-furnished home-base from which to conduct his forays.

The present-day attitude to birth control has grown up only recently: as late as 1908 a Bishop of Ripon could still evoke prolonged applause at the Lambeth Conference when arguing that birth control would produce national decline "if we through luxury refuse to become fathers. If four women

shrink from maternity, if we worship wealth and luxury rather than home duties". Such views also reflect a fear of giving free rein to the human passions, an acquiescence in the inevitability of human suffering, and even a conviction that major achievement results from self-denial. An Anglican guide on birth control, 1914 saw large families as "admirable schools of vigorous, dutiful, and unselfish character": historians have yet to discuss the long-term implications for children of their decline.

Distaste for birth control was reinforced by distaste for the type of person who was advocating it: a rationalistic faith in science, and conviction that human beings could individually and collectively determine their own fate by breaking long-standing taboos and traditions seemed merely presumptuous, materialistic and likely to serve more purposes than were overtly confessed. Archbishop Lang recalled the Bishop of Bloemfontein as showing "many signs of abnormal excitement" during the Lambeth Conference of 1930; no doubt he was influenced by these factors. He eventually withdrew from it and petitioned the King to forbid South African publications of its resolution, which compromised with birth control.

The offensiveness of the more zealous birth-controllers was accentuated when, like Marie Stopes, they cast themselves in a religious role. She could hardly have benefited her cause at the Lambeth Conference in 1920 when she informed the bishops, through her *New Gospel*, of the physiological and psychological importance of the mutual exchange of secretions between the sexes during intercourse. Nor did she display much humility: "Saul spoke with Christ nineteen hundred years ago", she asserted them, "I spoke with Him yesterday".

Victorian birth-controllers also limited their influence by tying their recommendation to a somewhat sectarian political economy. Chandrasekhar and R. A. Soloway give rather more credit to the Malthusian League for spreading birth control than some other historians have, yet Soloway portrays an organization that succeeded almost in spite of itself; its prime preoccupation with economic reasoning prevented it from giving practical guidance on birth-control technique, let alone advice on sexual fulfilment, and its dogmatic rationalism denied it political impact by antagonising the right without any hope of harnessing the environmentalism increasingly fashionable on the left.

Yet the birth-controllers' appeal had some popular success between the 1820s and the 1880s under the leadership of Richard Carlile, Francis Place, J. S. Mill and Bradlaugh. It enlisted the self-help tendencies among working men and women who were eager to take control of their own fate rather than defer to the doctor or the priest. This is one of those Victorian radical causes which effectively straddled the middle-working-class divide, and hoped to cultivate a middle-class providence in the respectable workingman through appeals to his secularism and to his faith in education, free speech and science. If self-help in primitive society dictated the large family, many thoughtful nineteenth-century working people came to believe that in modern conditions it dictated the small one.

But as soon as birth-controllers claimed to possess a panacea, pioneer socialists of the 1880s were bound to object - pointing out that in a society where the interests of employer and employed conflict, birth control will in the short term materially benefit only the childless, and in the long term will merely reduce the absolute but not the relative number of those who suffer. Socialists also rightly pointed out that even if the labour supply were reduced the employer would still be free to mechanize or to import foreign workers. They also argued that an improved, incontinent world itself constituted a provident attitude.

If many of the birth-controllers' arguments now look unconvincing, even setting aside their remarkable ignorance on the timing of the "safe period", by no means all the arguments of their opponents have been discredited, for it is not yet at all clear that the smaller family - whose adult members are all free to work away from home - has brought unmitigated gain for the child, for the welfare of old people, or for the integrity of family institutions. Nor has any alternative mode of social organization yet appeared which seems likely to do the family's job as effectively. Yet the optimism of Besant and Knowlton leaves little room for doubt and hesitation; on the contrary, says Knowlton, "Heaven has not only given us the capacity of greater enjoyment, but the talent of devising means to prevent the evils that are liable to arise therefrom; and it becomes us, 'with thanksgiving', to make the most of them."

Chandrasekhar's introduction to Knowlton's *Fruits of Philosophy* and to Mrs Besant's birth-control pamphlets of 1877 and 1896, all reprinted complete, does not aim at originality; but together with his bibliography and biographical notes, it supplies helpful context. Rather surprisingly he does not provide the detailed textual analysis that would establish the extent of Mrs Besant's debt to Knowlton; he reproduces his arguments at several points. Nor does Chandrasekhar explain the third of Besant's U-turns in position she reverted to in her pamphlet of 1877 but repudiated in her theological pamphlet of 1896.

Soloway's self-confessedly fragmented approach to his subject - which divides his period at 1914 into two chronological halves, and then subdivides each half analytically - is not easily combined with broad perspectives on his subject, but he has performed a major service by thoroughly documenting comprehensively integrating the extensive recent work that has been done on the medical, feminist, eugenic and religious aspects of birth control.

Handsome produced and well indexed, his book is not concerned with demographic statistics but with contemporary attitudes to them. It is in effect a set of essays in the history of ideas, which separately explore in detail the relationship between birth control and the growth of feminism, class-consciousness, socialism, secularization and medical professionalism. Soloway draws through on a rich selection of printed sources, especially periodicals, and reinforces his later sections with new manuscript material from the Stopes and Sanger papers.

Inevitably there will be argument about detail when so broad a sweep of territory is covered. A full discussion of the National Council of Public Morals, which repeatedly crops up in Soloway's footnotes, would have been welcome. So also would the more nuanced view of shifts in Anglican opinion in the 1920s which emerges from studying the debates and background papers of the Lambeth Conference in 1920 and 1930. Whereas Soloway sees a "stunning reversal" in 1930 of the standpoint taken up in 1920, the reality is that the "progressives" in 1920 were only just contained by the conservatives, and that the conservatives in 1930 were far more active than his narrative implies, and in both Conferences were sustained by conservative pressure from the largest women's organization, the Mothers' Union. To one of the Oxford "if it sometimes seemed", as to show it the way, and as if the Church were ready to follow rather than lead.

"The feminist press" according to Soloway, "continued to ignore" birth control "throughout the 1920s", yet in 1921 the leading feminist periodical of the time, *The Women's Leader*, forthrightly made itself into a forum for official benediction. Discussing birth control with Lady Astor in 1935, Mrs. Stocks pointed out that "the real mischief is that so many working women have a kind of traditional belief

because in the 1950s he pioneered the scholarly study of the modern birth-control issue by initiating a massively analytic multi-volume exercise in historical sociology. His *Prosperity and Parenthood* (1954) showed that an improved middle-class standard of living and expectation of life was a necessary but not sufficient condition for the widespread Mid-Victorian middle-class adoption of birth control. In an article published with Olive Banks in the same year, he showed that the Bradlaugh-Besant trial accelerated but did not initiate, the spread of birth-control practices, and in their *Feminism and Family Planning* (1964) the Banks dismissed feminism as a causal factor in the change.

His new book continues what Professor Banks calls his "piecemeal" factor by factor, research procedure by asking why the mid-Victorians ceased to regard birth control as in some way unnatural. He is thereby led into exploring remarkably diverse areas of nineteenth-century society, and his argument is at times so encrusted with detail, so heavily academic in style, so unexpected in the directions it takes, so close to the card-index, that most readers will long for more firmness of argumentative direction, and will wish that the typescript had been taken through more drafts.

The book's somewhat unhelpful title might lead one to expect a sustained study of secularist attitudes to birth control, but in reality this takes up a very small part of the argument. Banks uses the 1911 fertility survey to show that it was in professional families that birth control was pioneered before 1871 - in the armed services, intelligentsia and some other middle-class occupations. These were scarcely affected by the secularist movement. Furthermore, he argues that the timing of births within these middle-class families hardly supports the notion that the middle-class wife was rebelling, feminist fashion, against almost continuous childbirth. Parents procreate the desired number of children without spacing, and then stop. Middle-class conduct was influenced, not by secularism and feminism, but by the demand of increasingly meritocratic professions for recruits whose parents had endowed them with formal academic qualifications. The cost of educating the child (especially the male child) thus becomes crucial as an influence on birth control.

Banks shows that these changes were in progress well before the national birth-rate registers a decline, and were scarcely hindered by an Anglican orthodoxy which held sway only over very limited areas of middle-class personal conduct. Other professions or aspirant professions are left the lead thus set, and little room is left for either the "child replacement hypothesis" whereby high fertility becomes less necessary when child mortality declines, or for the idea that birth control arrived because working-class parents are rationally responding to the denial of their children's labour power when late-Victorian elementary education becomes compulsory.

Banks's analysis is salutary for emphasizing the importance of birth-control practices before the downturn in the aggregate national birth-rate, and for highlighting the need for a sustained historical study of nineteenth-century professionalization. His analyses only the armed services in detail, however; there, as so often, his somewhat abstract mode of argument races cavalierly ahead of the abundant empirical research required for its validation.

It will certainly be necessary to disentangle the complexities of the self-help concept: here its individualist working-class variant confronts its collectivist middle-class variant. When birth-controllers secularists are rebuked by the censorious clergyman or doctor, for although professional people pioneered birth control in their private conduct, they long obstructed official benediction. Discussing birth control with Lady Astor in 1935, Mrs. Stocks pointed out that "the real mischief is that so many working women have a kind of traditional belief

that this is not a doctor's question, and the attitude of many doctors shows how during the 1920s the responsibility for birth-control could their profession retain in an area where laymen so confidently taking decisions themselves. For similar reasons clergy at the same time exhibited hostility to a grudging acquiescence

Banks's dust-jacket describes his book as "a brilliant example of how a sociologist can illuminate the problem of the social and economic history of the birth-control movement". But the historian will sometimes be uncomfortable with the book's mode of reasoning, with its reliance on lack of interest in the unique aspects of the British birth-control revolution. He will become more under the book's timeless nature, analysis, which tends to lift the causal factors out of context and separate discussion instead of revealing contemporary interaction of all their subtlety and complexity.

The Royal Commission Population of 1949 saw the birth rate as stemming from a complex web, rather than a chain of cause and effect, and went on to list a host of relevant factors, from the growth of competitive individualism, the decay of small handicrafts, to the "complex web" of the historian's approach - well noted in the detailed study of contemporary manuscript and other sources in a single society at a particular period - perhaps ultimately the most appropriate.

Still, the historian will continue to derive stimulus from Banks's analysis. In his own work, though, he will focus not only on class consciousness on regional divergences, and will fully exploit the printed and material and the original oral returns; he will also wish to explore contrasts between religious and cultural groupings. Class as occupation may have been important in moulding attitudes to birth control but the historian will wish to discern how these were moderated in detail by particular places by particular influences. Detailed local study would be welcome here, perhaps combined with a study of birth control in its commercial aspects (as neglected by both Banks and Soloway). One of the unrecorded social transformations since the Second World War has been not the collapse of the second-hand bookshop in Charing Cross Road, London, but the apothecary of the door neighbour, the semi-medical shop which displays appliances that guarantee renewed potency. The somewhat depressing reality of mankind's falling power has succumbed before glamorous cosmetics which glorify the life of sexual adventure, in alliance with the cinema which illustrates this life in operation.

The historian who describes the Victorian birth-control revolution will need better luck than Professor Banks with his publisher. The University of North Carolina Press has published Professor Soloway's substantial and relatively new book, and a well-presented, properly printed, yet yet page-for-page the book is as expensive than Routledge's more expensive text has been represented directly from typescript, with unjustified right-hand margin, and a relatively new index. Academic demands much from their readers, but surely one of the publisher's duties is to prevent them from looking weary and forbidding.

A recent publication from the grim Press, New York, *The Moral Issues* (240pp. \$15.95 0 8298 0611 3) - reprints, on the topic of Edward Bachelard, the work is organized in six sections: "The Voice of Women", "The State of the Nation", "The Case for the Church", "Abortion as a Sociotheological Issue", "Critiques".

ART

Visionary vanity

Quentin Bell

EVELYN WAUGH

PRB: An Essay on the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood 1847-54
44pp. Dalcym Press, 3, Lodge Lane, Westerham, Kent. £34.
0 950 7301 2 2

This is a handsomely produced, nicely printed, well designed, well illustrated but decidedly slim volume. Not that this will trouble the real Waugh enthusiasts, for he or she who shares the enthusiasms of Christopher Sykes (probably far and away the best novelist that Britain has produced this century). For readers such as these even the slightest anecdote must be a thing of the very highest value. We do not dislike a relic because it is rather old. But the publishers of this handsome edition have presumably reckoned with a profane and unenlightened section of the public. One considers them (the publishers) with great sympathy, for to this important fact it may well appear that about thirty pages of Waugh - and no one pretends that it is vintage Waugh - is not so much as anorexic.

How then is one to deal with a situation of this kind, how to contrive to give the public something a little plumper for its money? The matter is solved by bringing in two heroes so great in stature that they may bear the gentle Waugh upon their devoted shoulders. Mr Sykes supplies a preface, Christopher Wood a postscript; they are both worthy of their task. Sykes is well informed concerning the genesis of this essay and shows, surprisingly, how fortuitous it was that Evelyn Waugh made an entry into the republic of letters. Mr Wood is concerned with the actual text, the actual meat of the literary sandwich. He remarks, fairly enough, that the young Evelyn Waugh... showed considerable courage, independence and foresight in

publishing this essay at all" (it was privately printed in 1926). At that time the Pre-Raphaelite movement was very much out of fashion. I think that Wood is mistaken in believing that it was ever discussed by Lytton Strachey, but Clive Bell was certainly very rude about the Pre-Raphaelites and Roger Fry could admire only Rossetti and Burne Jones. Almost everyone (including Waugh himself) considered Ruskin thoroughly out of date, as in a sense he was. In fact the climate of opinion was very unfavourable and, one would suppose, particularly unfavourable amongst the young men at Oxford. In spite of everything, Waugh felt, and through the rest of his life continued to feel a considerable admiration for these painters and took up the cudgels on their behalf.

Having done so, it was no doubt logical to see in Holman Hunt the true genius of the movement. He was in early days the theorist - in so far as he had a theory he knew what it was - and in later years he was the last of the brethren to persist in the wearisome technique of white on wet white, sable brush and the minute depiction of natural appearances; indeed it may be said of him that he had "a transcendent capacity for taking trouble" and, one may add, an equal capacity for finding it. All these were admirable qualities but in the case of the young Waugh one has to notice also that he was, in the first place, attracted by the fact that the Hunts and the Waughs were united. Holman, not content with marrying one Miss Waugh, showed his transcendent capacity by marrying her sister also.

These circumstances, I must confess, raised hopes, unreasonable hopes perhaps, concerning this essay. Diana Holman Hunt, encouraged by her cousin (and he never did a better thing) produced from the evidence supplied by her family a comic masterpiece, *My Two Grandmothers*, undoubtedly the funniest source available to scholars of the Movement. Seeing that Waugh was himself a comic writer of great ability

Sophisticates abroad

Filippo Donini

RODINA SORIA

Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century American Artists in Italy, 1760-1914
44pp. Patridge Dickinson University Press. \$45.

Information on more than three hundred American artists who were active in Italy between 1760 and 1914, including the names of their works, a glossary of relevant terms, the names of relevant people whose works they met, plus an evaluation of the significance of their Italian experience and a vast array of bibliographical references would normally connect such an enterprise with a team of scholars under the direction of a distinguished academic. Professor Rodina Soria has produced this *Dictionary* on her own; it took her twenty years, but the unity and consistency of her approach, her judgement and her taste have resulted in something far better than any team could possibly have achieved.

Very wisely Mrs Soria has included, along with the artists themselves, the patrons and historians, poets and writers who played a part in American cultural relations - not to mention the diplomats; it is surprising how many American Consuls and Ministers were either painters or writers. To be able to check how Washington Irving's or Henry Adams's Alston, the painter, and Saint-Gaudens, the sculptor, their friends and contemporaries, is not only useful to the historian but is an essential contribution to that study of "the old relation, social, personal, aesthetic, of the American world to the European world". Henry James saw as the "development of a society".

The purpose of the *Dictionary* is to document the vital role played by Italy in the evolution and advancement of American art, and also to illustrate the cultural and social background in which Americans in Italy found themselves in the nineteenth century. This double aim is pursued particularly in the excellent introduction, in which Mrs Soria places the *Dictionary* material in perspective. Very reasonably, she seems to dissociate herself from the excessive admiration and extravagant praise which the American public has sometimes heaped on its favourite artists: not for her such bombastic labels as "the American Leonardo" for Samuel F. B. Morse, "the American Titian" for William Page, "a new Thorwaldsen or an Angelo" (meaning Michelangelo) for E. V. Valentine. Although her book does not pretend to reassess American art, her preferences transpire clearly enough, and what she has to say about Alston and his role in setting the American fashion for Claude's idealized landscapes, or about Thomas Cole's *limnism*, inspired by Corot and Italian light, or about the naturalness of Rinehart's brushwork, is very persuasive. If she shows some partiality, it is for Eliza Vedder, whose "long overdue recognition" she brought about in a previous book.

"Nature being the same on the banks of the Kennebec as on the banks of the Tiber - why go to Europe?" Emerson asked. But American artists had very cogent reasons for expatriation: there were no art-schools in their country, and no possibility of drawing from live models - the exhibition of nudity was not tolerated (a cast of the *Venus de' Medici* was kept shut in a case in Philadelphia and shown only "by special request"). In Italy, on the contrary, opportunities for drawing from life abounded. Free classes were offered by the celebrated Academies of Bologna and Florence, and private academies were only too willing to capitalize on the passion for art shown by foreign artists: Gipsy's Academy in Rome "provided a wage for the live, nude model; tables and easels for

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"Nature being the same on the banks of the Kennebec as on the banks of the Tiber - why go to Europe?" Emerson asked. But American artists had very cogent reasons for expatriation: there were no art-schools in their country, and no possibility of drawing from live models - the exhibition of nudity was not tolerated (a cast of the *Venus de' Medici* was kept shut in a case in Philadelphia and shown only "by special request"). In Italy, on the contrary, opportunities for drawing from life abounded. Free classes were offered by the celebrated Academies of Bologna and Florence, and private academies were only too willing to capitalize on the passion for art shown by foreign artists: Gipsy's Academy in Rome "provided a wage for the live, nude model; tables and easels for

and might easily have heard or inherited some equally entertaining information concerning the Brethren and their followers, it seemed permissible to hope for a very amusing essay. Alas, we are not amused, or at least not very much amused; nothing that he wrote is devoid of wit but here the author is too seriously concerned to do justice to his kinman, too anxious to depreciate the work of Millais and the Rossettis, too much engaged by the difficulty of giving a satisfactory account of the theoretical position of the group to be very funny. There are indeed places where he is altogether too serious in his assessment of what Rossetti called "the visionary vanity of half a dozen boys" and although some of his "historical" statements may raise a smile one cannot always be sure that this was what the author intended.

Wood is critical, and rightly critical, of this essay as history but at one point it should be said that he is a little too critical: "the imaginary scene in the Millais household in 1847" and those "vignettes scattered through the essay" are not, as he suggests, early attempts at fiction by the future novelist, they are lifted verbatim from Holman Hunt's *Pre-Raphaelitism and the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood*. There are, however, other passages which seem more inventive, or at all events more elaborately embroidered. Waugh describes the escape of the elder Rossetti from the Bourbon rulers of Naples, an escape which, according to him, was effected by means of "a pair of bell-bottomed trousers in which he marched past the police in the company of a detachment of English blue-jackets". This may be true, but when Dante Gabriel is described as "walking with an ungainly roll, perhaps acquired by his father while disguised as a sailor, we enter a world of pure Wavian fantasy."

It would have been an interesting, and not a very difficult task, to add a critical study of the sources used by Waugh together with footnotes - and then, think how greatly this would have served to enlarge the book.

Sophisticates abroad

Filippo Donini

RODINA SORIA

Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century American Artists in Italy, 1760-1914
44pp. Patridge Dickinson University Press. \$45.

Information on more than three hundred American artists who were active in Italy between 1760 and 1914, including the names of their works, a glossary of relevant terms, the names of relevant people whose works they met, plus an evaluation of the significance of their Italian experience and a vast array of bibliographical references would normally connect such an enterprise with a team of scholars under the direction of a distinguished academic. Professor Rodina Soria has produced this *Dictionary* on her own; it took her twenty years, but the unity and consistency of her approach, her judgement and her taste have resulted in something far better than any team could possibly have achieved.

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Painting the town

Celina Fox

DAVID PIPER

Artists' London

160pp. with 60 pages of colour plates and 70 illustrations in black and white. Weidenfeld and Nicolson. £10.95.
0 297 78065 4

In his acknowledgements, David Piper confesses that his first vision of this book was of a "glorious comprehensive totality: of London within and without as seen by artists through the centuries". Unfortunately, he says the constraints of publishing soon whittled that ambition down, an explanation which presumably also accounts for the brevity of the text. Those seeking an explanation for the attraction of the capital as native-matter for foreign as well as native-born artists, or an analysis of changing patterns of metropolitan patronage, or an account of the development in training and exhibition facilities, will be disappointed.

Instead, Piper presents us with a personal choice of work by the finest artists, concentrating mainly on the fabric of the city itself, rather than depictions of London life, interiors or London as it might have been. He starts with the Middle Ages but has soon glided elegantly into the eighteenth century, with its developing taste for the noble prospect. He touches lightly on such themes as the urban picturesque and notes with humour recurring features in the landscape, like the obliging cow in St James's Park, "a perambulating milkbar", depicted both in Charles II's day and by Gainsborough in the 1740s. But a number of trivial errors in the text - for instance, the

reference to Spring Gardens as a late eighteenth century rather than a seventeenth-century pleasure garden and the confusion of "Night" with "Evening" in Hogarth's *The Four Times of Day* - suggests that a little more time could profitably have been expended at the editing stage.

Although the selection of pictures contains few surprises, it is interesting to see, in a couple of instances, details reproduced from larger works. Sir John Backhouse, one of the original directors of the New River Company, rests his hand in a portrait of 1637 on a painting of the New River Head and Waterhouse in Clerkenwell. In the final scene to Hogarth's *Marriage à la Mode*, the decrepit frame of old London Bridge on its last legs can be glimpsed through a window of the house belonging to the father of the Countess.

The author outlines the continuing tradition of urban topography in the nineteenth century but reserves most of his enthusiasm for those artists who conveyed the special effects of the light and atmosphere of the capital, notably Turner, Whistler and Monet. In contrast to the "molten light and colour" of Monet's "Gare St. Lazare", Frith's tableau of "The Railway Station" seems to him "merely an anecdotal contrivance", a view which may explain the absence of Victorian narrative art from the book.

The most surprising choice among the twentieth-century works is that "Mondrian-like diagram", the London Underground Map, devised in the early 1930s by Harry C. Beck. In its streamlined simplicity, so wholly at variance with the realities of London Transport, it is perhaps as much an idealized vision of the metropolis as the early woodcut images, of a host of towers and spires soaring heavenwards.

Old master

Frances Spalding

PAUL ROCHE

With Duncan Grant in Southern Turkey
134pp. Honeyglen Publishing. £9.95.
0 907855 00 8

Duncan Grant was in his eighty-ninth year when the poet Paul Roche accompanied him to Southern Turkey. The painter was unable to walk far and easily tired, but quickly revived by rakish, whisky or the letchful bloody mays prepared in large quantities by Roche for long journeys. Fuelled by rakish, or by morning tea laced with Turkish cognac, Duncan paints contentedly when wedged crab-like into a gap in the rocks or left on a park bench. On one occasion he is enticed into the sea in his underpants and, clinging like a three-toed sloth to his companion, is swirled back and forth gasping. Certain that he can still swim he begs to be unknotted and silently dips out of sight. When asked to take a photograph he is utterly baffled by the camera, despite being told through Roche how to look and what trigger to press. Roche explains, in a large quantity of words, that he is a lesser but very influential way of Lorenzo Bartolini, who left a deep mark on Greenough and Rinehart. Moreover, according to John Vanderlyn, Rome was "thronged with... an unusual proportion of beautiful women", and Italians were so friendly that the banker Torlonia hurried to welcome Washington Irving (thinking he was related to George Washington).

A necessary complement to any dictionary of artists is the illustrations. Ninety are provided here, but they are, I am sorry to say, the weak point of the book. It is understandable that there should be no colour plates (the *Dictionary* is expensive enough as it is) but the choice of illustrations is somewhat puzzling. The artist best represented is George Innes, with six illustrations. Sargent and Cole follow, with four each, while Alston, Morse and Page have three; but Whistler and Greenough have none. Hiram Powers is represented by his bust of George Washington, not by the most famous of his works, the "Greek Slave".

But this is a very minor blemish compared

